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KEATS: A BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCE GUIDE

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES AND TEXTS, No. 3



KEATS

A Bibliography and Reference Guide with an Essay on Keats' Reputation

by

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Preface

HIS Bibliography and Reference Guide is intended to provide a convenient joint catalogue of Keats' published writings (in their many editions) with significant books and articles about the poet and his work, from 1816 to 1946. It is hoped that both parts will be of use not only to students of Keats but also, in some degree, to scholars whose centre of interest may be elsewhere in the literature between his time and ours. Comment on Keats from Hunt and Jeffrey (or Croker and Lockhart) to Middleton Murry and Allen Tate is indicative of changing critical standards and methods, and even a bleak list of editions may suggest, by their number and nature, something of the literary interests of a period. Part of the long introductory essay, "On the Development of Keats' Reputation," is meant to illustrate these points.

The catalogue is undoubtedly far from complete. Human fallibility, the urgency of time, and the cost of printing make it so. Several hundred possible items were omitted because they did not fit into the adopted plan or seemed of insufficient interest; perhaps as many others that should have been included were overlooked or could not be hunted out in the years since this project was under-Foreign criticism and translation, no doubt, could have been more fully represented. With few exceptions, I have included no book or article which I have not seen. Each exception is indicated with an asterisk at the beginning of the entry and usually with an acknowledgment of the source of the information, in square brackets, at the end. If this precise acknowledgment of origin is omitted it is commonly because the book or article has been cited so often elsewhere that it would be difficult and finical to trace the first reference. The principles of choice differ according to the period in question. I have omitted comparatively few known references to Keats or quotations from his poems before 1848, the year of publication of the first biography. From 1848, to keep the list within reasonable scope, the arbitrary principle has been adopted of including only books, chapters, and articles in which Keats is the vi Preface

sole or main subject—and not all of them. Applying this rule, Matthew Arnold's essay which was first published in Wa d's English Poets and reappeared in Essays in Criticism, Second Series is included, but the interesting incidental comments on Keats in the Preface to Poems, 1853 and in the lectures On the Study of Celtic Literature are omitted. Likewise complimentary verses by Leigh Hunt and anonymous effusions in the early journals are listed, but the post-1848 poems on Keats by Rossetti and Hardy, though of equal interest and greater merit, are reluctantly excluded. The student can easily trace them, however, in such special studies as George Ford's Keats and the Victorians. As for the mass of material in the periodicals and learned journals, I have omitted a great deal of Victorian commentary either as too general or as represented in the available biographies etc., but I have included a large proportion of items since the centenary in 1921 as indicative of Keats' reputation or the interests and direction of scholarship.

Bibliographical description has also been varied according to the date and nature of the item. Needless to say, only the three original volumes are described in detail; later editions and other books are identified by title-page (often abbreviated), date, and the paging of introduction and text. When the year is given in square brackets, without a question mark, it indicates an intermediate state of information about the time of publication, as when the date of copyright only is known or of deposit in the British Museum or the Library of Congress. It has not been found advisable or practical to distinguish in every case between new editions and reissues of a book, or to give separate notice under one number to new editions only. For example, the earliest American printings of the poems, B2-9, etc., are apparently from the same stereotype plates; they differ only in title-page, and in date and place of publication. They are given separate entries because they are of some special interest, being early. The various issues, with altered titlepage, of the eight Moxon editions have been treated in the same way for the same reason. At a later date analogous reissues are ordinarily mentioned only in a note after the account of first publication.

There remains to make brief acknowledgment of my debts, which are many. I would mention first the indirect assistance of the late J. C. Saul of Toronto whose extensive collection of books

on Keats, Shelley, Byron, and Tennyson was acquired by the University of Toronto in 1940. Mr. Saul intended to publish a bibliography of Keats and was busy with the preliminary work of annotating and arranging his acquired material when stopped by his last illness. I had already made a beginning independently before I heard of Mr. Saul's plans and of his Keats library; I never met him; but my work has been made easier because of his. It is a pleasure also to mention the facilities for investigation, beyond the University of Toronto Library, provided by the British Museum, the Library of Congress, the Keats House (Hampstead), Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and the Public Libraries of New York, Boston, and Toronto. Mention should also be made, if only in general terms, of my indebtedness to the compilers of the check-lists and bibliographies referred to in Section X, and to the authors of innumerable books and articles whose references and notes I have used to find my way beyond them. Finally, I would thank the University of Toronto Press for undertaking publication of this work, my colleague Mr. F. E. L. Priestley for looking over the Introduction, and Miss Francess Halpenny of the editorial staff of the Press for supervising proof of the whole book with zeal for as much accuracy and consistency as possible.

J. R. M.

April 18, 1949

Abbreviations

THE following abbreviated forms of reference have been used:

BC. The catalogue of the Loan Exhibition held in Boston in 1921. See X11.

BN. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

ELH. ELH: A Journal of English Literary History.

LC. The catalogue of the Library of Congress, Washington.

Letters. The Letters of John Keats, M. B. Forman ed., 1935.

Marsh and White. G. L. Marsh and N. I. White, "Keats and the Periodicals of His Time," *Modern Philology*, Aug. 1934, pp. 37-53.

PMLA. Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.

Rome I. Rome II. Titles of the First [Second] Thousand Works acquired by the Library of the Keats-Shelley Memorial House, Rome. See X5.

TLS. The Times Literary Supplement, London.

UC. The Union Catalogue of Books, the Library of Congress, Washington.

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On the Development of Keats' Reputation

MPORTANT chapters in the history of Keats' reputation have been published recently by two scholars. Although George Ford, in Keats and the Victorians (1944), is mainly concerned with the influence of Keats' art on the major Victorian poets of England, he takes preliminary notice of the rise of his reputation before 1840 and shows how firmly it was established in the next two generations, at least among his literary heirs. Hyder Rollins. in Keats' Reputation in America to 1848 (1946), thoroughly develops his more limited field and attempts to show that the Americans were less tardy than the English in recognizing a neglected poet at his true worth. This survey will, of necessity, be much less detailed than either of the works mentioned. It will be an attempt to observe and define the principal stages in the development of Keats' reputation over a period of 130 years, down to our own day. Since it is intended to be published with a "Bibliography and Reference Guide," and in some measure to supplement it, a considerable part of the emphasis will be placed upon the kinds of evidence which emerge most clearly from such a compilation. Needless to say, the large and related subject of Keats' influence on later poetry must be omitted entirely; Mr. Ford has given us a valuable account of the most important period in such a history.

Because Keats was an original writer, in the sense that he often went counter to the accepted literary fashions and critical postulates of his day, he oftended or puzzled or only half-satisfied most of his early readers and reviewers even in those poems of his final volume which now for three-quarters of a century have been usually counted among the most beautiful and, of their kind, the most

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soon painfully conscious of the faults of those volumes, not least of their adolescent mawkishness. But the modern reader of early? nineteenth-century comment (who has been taught to ignore all the really popular poets of the age except Scott and Byron as of no interest or importance) may well be surprised when he first discovers that the onulent language of Hyperion, The Eve of St. Agnes, and the odes was generally thought to be obscure, extravagant, or merely quaint, and that both the choice and the treatment of mythological themes were regretted even by friendly and wellintentioned reviewers of the last volume. These adverse opinions were widely held in the eighteen-twenties (in so far as Keats was read and discussed at all), seemed less justifiable in the thirties, and found their latest expression about the time Milnes' biography appeared in 1848. Ceats' right to a place among the principal poets of the age was generally conceded soon after the middle of the century, but the unsympathetic renewed their attack from another quarter. The new contention was that he was a merely literary poet in the narrowest sense of the term, out of all touch with the life of the age, without intellectual interests or moral concerns, a confectioner of verbal sweetmeats who had corrupted the taste of half the English poets since his time the half that had not been nourished on Wordsworth's plain and wholesome fare. This was, in general, Arnold's earliest opinion of Keats it was restated with diminishing frequency and persuasiveness by lesser critics long after the eighteen-sixties when Arnold changed his mind; and in modified form it made its final appearance in the critical comments of W. J. Courthope beginning with his review of Colvin's Keats (1887). The following essay will, in part, be the record of how the poems of an original writer survived the canons of taste by which at first, they were rejected or undervalued.

But keats had much more than literary prejudice to overcome. His rejutation as a man and a poet was coloured and to a great extendivitiated for many years by the popularity of two rival myths about him. The first, the atrocious fiction of the silly and ignorant "Cockney" poet, "Johnny" Keats, was the malicious invention of John Gibson Lockhart in Blackwood's, but was soon taken up with delight by some other Tory journals, which were glad to malign Keats for being a friend of Leigh Hunt, and was accepted as sober truth by thousands of people who derived their literary opinions

rom these sources. This absurd and cruel caricature was generally passed off as a true portrait during the last three years of the poet's life and was still accepted as a perfect likeness by some moronic wits long after he died, until it was finally destroyed by Milnes' biography in 1848. The second myth, the invention of a friend, had its origin in Adonais, in Shelley's eloquent but uninformed and uncritical commemoration of a genius which he believed "was not less delicate and fragile than it was beautiful." Adonais, in fact, gave rise to two related and long-lived misconceptions about Keats, one particular, the other general: that his fatal illness was induced by the harsh treatment of Endymion in the Quarterly, and that he was a poet of excessively delicate emotional organization, more feminine than masculine, a sensitive plant,

Like a pale flower by some sad maiden cherished.,

The indictment of the Quarterly for homicide was concurred in, more or less literally, by several of Keats' friends, though it was Byron's eight-line squib on "Who killed John Keats?" and his famous half-scoffing, half-friendly stanza in Don Juan that effectively publicized the accusation that the poet's life had been "snuffed out by an article." This misconception, like the myth of "Johnny Keats the Cockney," was proved false by Milnes, though the measure of Keats' disappointment and even misery for which Lockhart, Croker, and their allies can be held responsible has never been determined with any certainty, and perhaps never can be. The other misconception, of a hypersensitive youth, delicately attuned to beauty but not sufficiently robust and masculine to bear the ills of life, was to survive for almost a century. It should also have been exploded by Milnes' biography, but it suited so perfectly the popular Victorian and feminine ideal of the unhappy and beautiful youth of genius that it was by many a w "sad maiden cherished," and accounts for a great deal of the poet's less desirable popularity among sentimental admirers until thirty or forty years ago. Among more critical and serious readers, Keats' perfectly masculine nature, his courage and sense of humour. his developing emotional restraint/(even at the beginning of 1817 far more strict than that of Hunt or Haydon), and his intellectual energy and subtlety were all being recognized in mid-Victorian times, when the publication in 1878 of the letters to Fanny Brawne.

Mostly written during his last illness, gave the old falsehood at the poet's character another lease of life, thanks in large means to Arnold's distressed and harsh observations at the integrated his essay in Ward's English Poets. It was not under a present century, when new material for a critical study of weats had been assessed and related, that the misconceptions about the poet's character, in both the Shelleyan and the Arnoldian form, were dispelled. In the following pages I intend to show first (in the next three sections) how Lockhart's myth of "Johnny Keats the Cockney" and Shelley's of the "pale flower" had their beginnings and how they influenced the poet's reputation before 1848. In the same sections will also be found some evidence of early distaste, perplexity, or hesitant approval felt for poetry that did not conform to what the age and the reviewers generally admired.

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Keats' original literary public consisted of one person, his friend and former teacher at Enfield, Charles Cowden Clarke, who first learned that the surgeon's apprentice was writing verse when he asked Clarke on February 3, 1815 to convey a sonnet, Written on the Day that Mr. Leigh Hunt left Prison, as an offering of respect to "the wronged Libertas." The theme was ominous for Keats' future reputation with the enemies of political radicalism, though his actual meeting with Hunt apparently did not occur until more than a year and a half later. Meanwhile he had broken with Dr. Hammond and come to London to enrol for the session of 1815-16 at Guy's Hospital. In the city, in a little domestic coterie, he found his next and slightly more extensive public, consisting of his younger brothers George and Tom, their literary friend George Felton Mathew, his cousins Anne and Caroline Mathew, and George Keats' future wife Georgiana Wylie. Mathew was a poet and critic of sorts, the set whom Keats knew: his verse and his reviews appeared occasionally in the European Magazine. Soon these two were writing complimentary verses to one another and to the ladies of their set, and their "brotherhood in song" reminded the callow but enthusiastic Keats, by doubtful analogy, of the famous and fruitful collaboration of Beaumont and Fletcher. Under this new social stimulation a considerable amount of occaPhalissengimental, complimentary verse was written: To Some Lates, On Receiving a Curious Shell, and a Copy of Verses, To a Who Sent Me a Laurel Crown, the verse epistles to grger kg man Mathew and to George Keats, and the valentine poem for Georgiana Wylie. Some of this verse was in imitation of the stylish drawing-room sentimentality of Tom Moore's Irish' Melodies, then at the height of their vogue But in 1815-16, Keats was without the skill to write good society verse, and temperamentally he lacked as yet both the wit and the air of graceful detachment commonly displayed in the genre. Awkward phrases and false rhymes, inflated expressions of admiration for literary friends of doubtful importance, a tendency toward effeminate gushing about the delights of "poesy" and suburban "leafy luxuries," a frequent quasi-elegance of phrase, and an occasional jaunty vulgarity: all might be mistaken for the art of a Cockney Della Cruscan. Unfortunately much of the verse written at this time was to be included a year later in the 1817 volume (there would hardly have been enough for a volume without it); and it was almost inevitable that the associates and heirs of William Gifford, the harsh little man who edited the Quarterly and who liked to believe that in his Baviad he had struck the fatal blow at Robert Merry and his precious set, should see in Keats a belated Cockney poet of the same breed. The more masculine and classic influence of Charles Cowden Clarke was to be brought to bear on Keats' poetry in the early autumn of 1816, and the most friendly and revealing of the epistles and the noblest of the sonnets, On First Looking into Chapman's Homer, were the results, but the tone of a large part of the projected volume had been established already. Clarke also introduced Keats to Leigh Hunt and Benjamin Robert Haydon in the autumn of 1816, thereby placing him in the group of writers and painters, great and small, where he was to find most of his friends: in addition to those just named, Severn, Taylor, Woodhouse, Shelley, Hazlitt and Reynolds (and through Reynolds), Bailey, Dilke, and Brown. The association with Haydon was in several ways the most beneficial. He was not only an artist of passionate and original, if wayward, genius who believed that great historical painters and great poets were the only real glories of any nation; he was also, to some degree, a public figure, for he was conducting his protracted campaign against the Royal'

Academy to vindicate the Elgin Marbles against the scoffers and achieve their purchase by the nation. The believed in his own genius, in the supreme worth of the artist, and in the permanent vitality of classical themes; and he encouraged Keats to do likewise. Three sonnets to Haydon, another on the Elgin Marbles, and the ambitious scheme of spending most of the next year in solitude on the composition of Endymion were the immediate literary results of this friendship. The later and more remote effects of Keats' introduction through Haydon to Greek antiquities and Renaissance painting are to be traced in the opening of Hyperion, in the Ode on a Grecian Urn, and in many richly wrought passages of simile or description where the grouping of figures and relationship of the masses of colour suggest the fusion of painting and poetry.

Keats association with Leigh Hunt was to be less important for his poetry but decisive for his reputation as a man and a poet with all who hated Hunt's politics. That romantic, cheerful, and not very dangerous threat to the established order had recently spent two years in jail for publishing in the Examiner a libel on the Prince Regent, that is to say, for writing plainly, forcefully, and impolitely about "the First Gentleman of Europe," in comment on some particularly fulsome flattery in the Morning Post. With what the Tories could only consider jaunty impudence he accepted imprisonment as the mark and reward of social virtue and proceeded to make himself comfortable. His room in Horse monger Lane Jail was soon transformed into a Huntian bower of delights. As the prisoner reported with satisfaction: "Charles Lamb declared there was no other such room except in a fairy tale." The walls were papered with a trellis of roses. Blue sky and unfettered clouds were painted on the ceiling. Venetian blinds soon gracefully disguised the bars on the windows. A piano appeared; shelves filled with books and adorned with busts lined the walls; and the door was left unlocked to a miniature garden with grassplot, flowers, and an apple-tree from which the faithful Mrs. Hunt (who with her children shared her husband's prison-bower) "man-"aged to get a pudding the second year." Here Hunt continued to write for the Examiner and to compose verse, notably The Story of Rimini. To his prison-salon came a considerable part of the literary society of London to pay respect to an honest man who was bold enough to speak his mind: Charles and Mady Lamb, Maria Edgeworth, Hazlitt, Shelley, Byron, Moore, Barnes (soon to be editor of The Times), and the venerable Bentham, who on the occasion of his visit played a game of battledore and shuttlecock with his host and "suggested an amendment in the constitution of shuttlecocks."1 The Leigh Hunt whom Keats came to know some twenty months after the end of this episode was hardly, to the same extent as he had been, the centre of admiring attention by Whigs and Radicals; but the Tories still thought of him simply as an impudent and seditious libeller of his Prince, as a man who in all his writings and behaviour illustrated the corruption of mind and morals which had followed on the French Revolution, Accordingly it did Keats little positive good in one political camp and condemned him out of hand in the other that the volume which he published in the spring of 1817 was dedicated to Leigh Hunt, included the sonnet Written on the Day that Mr. Leigh Hunt left Prison, and showed the influence at many points of the author of The Story of Rimini.

Yet the poems were little regarded on their first appearance. Blackwood's and the Quarterly had nothing to say, as yet. Monthly Magazine and the Scots Magazine were friendly and encouraging. The Eclectic Review saw less to admire. Reynolds in the Champion and Hunt in the Examiner found unnumbered beauties in the volume and the greatest promise for the future. Another friend (or perhaps one should say former friend), George Felton Mathew, in the European Magazine was not so sure. He could! not claim for the author "maturity of thought, propriety of feeling, or felicity of style," though the book was full of "gay colours and the sweet fragrance of bursting blossoms. Of the poems composed when he was Keats' mentor he wrote wistfully: "We shall pass over to the last of some minor pieces printed in the middle of the book, of superior versification, indeed, but of which, therefore, he seems to be partly ashamed, from a declaration that they were written earlier than the rest." He then proceeded to quote, without further sign of irony and as an example of the "spirited and powerful;" some of the most silly and sentimental lines in the volume. This review was probably enough to show

¹This account of Hunt's imprisonment is taken from his Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries (N16), pp. 415-29.

Keats that Mathew was part of a literary past which one former partner had outgrown while the other had not. The relationship ends at this point. It is not so certain that Keats could see in May 1817 the element of truth in Mathew's harsh and perhaps jealous observation about *Calidore:* "This fragment is as pretty and as innocent as childishness can make it, save that it savours too much,—as indeed do almost all these poems,—of the foppery and affectations of Leigh Hunt!"

It was five months later, in October 1817, that Blackwood's fired its first salvo at "the Cockney School of Poetry." The author of the whole series was apparently John Gibson Lockhart, hiding behind the pseudonym "Z," though the identification has not been absolutely established even yet.² Anonymity was particularly convenient for a contributor to Maga in those early days. When each issue appeared there were new cries of fury, new threats to take action for libel, new demands to give the victim satisfaction on the field of honour. This was exactly what the master-spirits of the magazine intended. Their considered policy was to infuriate their enemies, delight their friends, and astonish everyone by their audacity and wit. William Blackwood, the Edinburgh publisher, had set his new journal on its long and varied career in April 1817. It was designed to be a rival not only of the Whig Edinburgh Review but of the Tory Quarterly in London. [The first was brilliant enough, but it had ceased to pretend to be impartial in politics and was showing a disturbing sympathy with the cause of parliamentary reform. The second was of the right party but already seemed middle-aged, pontifical, and frequently dull. What was needed was editorial direction that would be at least as brilliant as Teffrey's and a great deal more audacious than Gifford's. After a disappointing beginning, Blackwood turned to the precocious and satiric Lockhart (aged twenty-three), the somewhat older but sophomoric John Wilson (not yet famous as "Christopher North" or as a Professor of Moral Philosophy), and James Hogg, "the Ettrick Shepherd," to put some life into the new journal.

²There can be no serious doubt of Lockhart's authorship. The usual way of defending him is to say that pseudonyms were transferred and shared in *Maga* and he may not have been the sole author of the series. See, for example, M. C. Hildyard, *Lockhart's Literary Criticism* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 2, 6-8, 156-7. It is, of course, certain that Wilson, Maginn, and others also derided the "Cockneys," including Keats, in *Blackwood's*.

first three bombs of their manufacture went off in the face of both radicalism and respectability when No. VII, October 1817, was opened. It contained the hoaxing "Chaldee MS," soon suppressed, satirizing many distinguished and inoffensive citizens of Edinburgh, Wilson's (?) contemptuous and insulting review of Coleridge's Biographia Literaria, and the first of Lockhart's unprovoked outrages against Hunt and the "Cockneys." The cut-throat buccaneers of Regency journalism, without parley or warning, had fired their first broadside and run up the Jolly Roger.

In the vicious attack on the "Cockney School" Hunt was the designed victim because he was the editor of the Examiner and had not been silenced by his imprisonment; Hazlitt would have been a welcome casualty because he was a hard-hitting opponent of the government party; but Keats was cut up only because he was in the way at the wrong time. The "Notice from the Editor" at the beginning of the startling issue of October 1817 indicated that three numbers of the "Cockney School" series had been "already received" or were "in preparation"; these must have been the first three, published in October and November 1817 and in July 1818, which centred on The Story of Rimini, though they were mainly intended to prove that Hunt was a libertine, seditionist, ignoramus, coxcomb, etc., etc. Now there was no mention of Keats in the text of these articles, though in the third a single line from a sonnet in the Poems was misquoted. But at the beginning of the first article, as an epigraph, there appeared the absurd four-and-one-half lines by Cornelius Webb (quoted in K10) in which Keats was associated with Hunt and called "the Muses' son of promise." Poor Webb, "who unfortunately was of our Party occasionally at Hampstead," as Keats remembered ruefully, was not trying to be satiric but eulogistic. He was to be mentioned often in the next few volumes of Blackwood's, but always as a Cockney poetaster, as contemptible a fellow as Keats:

Here's Corny Webb, and this other, an please ye, Is Johnny Keats;—how it smells of magnesia.³

^{*}Blackwood's, Sept. 1820, p. 675. In September 1836, when Webb was a proof-reader for the Quarterly, Lockhart, the editor, wrote a friendly, if patronizing, review of his Glances at Life in City and Suburb. One passage quoted (p. 226) contains a line from Keats; at one point (p. 228) Lockhart connects Webb with the "Cockney School."

The appearance of Webb's silly lines at the beginning of the "Cockney School" series boded mischief for Keats, as he immediately recognized. I do not know where Lockhart obtained them, but I shall venture a guess that indicates no high opinion of his moral and editorial scruples. Among the "Notices to Correspondents" at the beginning of the same issue of October 1817 is a note: "Cornelius Webb will observe that we have availed ourselves of his Letter." It is not impossible that Webb submitted his poem for publication in Blackwood's (it was a decent, law-abiding journal in its first six numbers, giving several pages each issue to "Original Poetry"), and that Lockhart then used only an excerpt in this outrageous way to ridicule the author and his friends. Webb, on this theory, had simply blundered into the nest of "the Scorpion." At least it is probable from the absence of reference to Keats in the three original articles on the "Cockney School" that it was Webb's silly praise that first called Lockhart's attention to a possible subject for a fourth diatribe.

Reynolds, recognizing the signal of danger, took measures to prevent the attack. Keats was persuaded about November 20 to postpone for a day his visit to Burford Bridge, where Endymion was to be finished, to meet J. H. Christie, a friend of Reynolds and Bailey and a friend and unofficial London agent of Lockhart in several matters, including the tragic quarrel with John Scott two years later. Apparently Christie sent a report on the meeting to Lockhart in Edinburgh and offered to write a generally favourable notice of Keats. On January 27, 1818, Lockhart replied: "What you say of Keates is pleasing, and if you like to write a little review of him, in admonition to leave his ways, &c., and in praise of his natural genius, I shall be greatly obliged to you."4 Yet in Blackwood's for the same month in a "Letter from Z. to Mr. Leigh Hunt," Lockhart wrote as if he planned to deal with Keats in his good time. After listing eight major crimes of Leigh Hunt he continued: "I mean to handle each of these topics in its turn, and now and then to relieve my main attack upon you, by a diversion against some of your younger and less important auxiliaries, the Keateses, the Shellys, and the Webbes." It may be worth noting that although Reynolds had recently published

⁴Andrew Lang, Life of John Gibson Lockhart (London, 1897), I, p. 199.

⁵Blackwood's, Jan. 1818, p. 415. No doubt this was written a considerable time before January 27, the date of the letter to Christie. Blackwood's seems to

a volume of verse and had been praised by Hunt in the Examiner along with Keats and Shelley as a young friend and poet of promise (12), he was always omitted in Blackwood's from the roll-call of Cockaigne. The one time he was mentioned as having any dealing with Hunt, in the sixth of the "Cockney School" articles, in October 1819, he was treated with respect as a "clever man" who was "by nature fit for far other occupation" than writing complimentary lines on The Story of Rimini. Apparently Reynolds' standing with Christie and Lockhart was good enough to save him from all molestation. Indeed at about the time of the remarks just cited Christie was proposing this "clever man" to Lockhart as a possible editor for a projected Tory newspaper to be published in Edinburgh.6 So in spite of Lockhart's forecast of an eventual "diversion" against Keats, there was a reasonable chance in January 1818 that nothing much would come of it. Reynolds' active friendship, Christie's moderate goodwill, and Lockhart's ' (presumed) ignorance of the sonnets in which Keats had praised Hunt might have turned the trick.

It was a great misfortune for Keats that Hunt's new volume of verse, with the precious title Foliage, appeared the next month when Endymion was almost ready for publication. Any book by Hunt was sure to be read closely by the bright young men of Blackwood's and the more elderly wits of the Quarterly and reviewed in their most jocular and caustic manner. It was easy to ridicule in Foliage the relaxed chattiness, the frequent namby-pamby elegance, the flowery compliments to numerous friends, and the professional romancing about the author's suburban glimpsing of Nymphs, Nepheliads, Dryads, Limmiads, Oreads, Ephydriads, Napeads, Naiads, etc.;

Then, there the Hamadryads are, their sisters, Simpler crown twisters. . . .

have come out regularly soon after the middle of the month, in contrast with the Quarterly, which was constantly and notoriously late. Mrs. John Wilson mentions, for example, that the May issue of Blackwood's that year appeared on the 20th (Mrs. Gordon, "Christopher North": A Memoir of John Wilson (Edinburgh, 1862), I, p. 277). Christie may have offered to write a sympathetic review of Keats' Poems immediately after he read Lockhart's threat in the January Maga—and on January 27 Lockhart gave his approval, having not yet seen Hunt's Foliage.

Lang, Life of Lockhart, I, p. 226.

Keats' Reputation

But any reader searching for the ludicrous would be sure to notice, after a sonnet To John Keats, two gems, On Receiving a Crown of Ivy from the Same and On the Same. This coronation which Hunt unwisely announced to the world had been, as a matter of fact, reciprocal. One evening over the wine, we are told, the whim seized them "to crown themselves with laurel after the fashion of the elder Bards" and write sonnets in competition on the incident. Keats, who could recognize the frivolous absurdity of the gesture and also the element of private solemnity for a dedicated spirit did not publish his sonnet; in fact it did not appear until almost a century after his death. Hunt, who could recognize neither, hastened to communicate his ecstasies to the public:

It is a lofty feeling, yet a kind, Thus to be topped with leaves. . . .

For Gifford this must have seemed like Della Crusca revived in Hampstead; a glance at Keats' hitherto unnoticed volume of the previous year would confirm this belief. For the mischievous and truth-perverting Lockhart here was a perfect opening, the idea for an outrageous legend which he and his fellow-writers in Blackwood's were to develop and publicize for years about the fatuous Leigh the First, King of the Cockneys, enthroned at 'Ampstead, surrounded by his royal court which included "pimpled Hazlitt" ("the Cockney Aristotle"), Haydon ("the Cockney Raphael"), and an egregious simpleton who had crowned the monarch and who was fancied in Cockaigne as a poet, "Johnny" Keats, "the Muses' son of promise." It may be worth noting at this point that whenever the name "Johnny" is given to the poet (and it appears frequently, and in other places than Blackwood's, in the next ten years), the writer is not merely being jocular or contemptuous; he is making it plain, perhaps unintentionally, that he shares Lockhart's opinion; he is one of those who accept Lockhart's caricature as a just portrait of the author of Endymion.

Nor was it the least ironic feature of a complex of misfortunes that Keats should find himself thus involved in the warfare of

⁷As reported by Woodhouse in his book of transcripts, though he does not mention specifically the composition of sonnets. Quoted by C. L. Finney, The Evolution of Keats's Poetry (035), I, p. 178.

Blackwood's and the Quarterly against Hunt at a time when the two friends were drifting apart. It had not taken Keats long to discover that Hunt was no poet and lacked all the qualities to become one, including the power of self-criticism. "Perhaps it is a delusion to say so," he had told Haydon nearly a year earlier, "but I think I could not be deceived in the Manner that Hunt ismay I die tomorrow if I am to be. There is no greater Sin after the 7 deadly than to flatter oneself into an idea of being a great Poet. . . . "8 Hunt had indicated some desire to supervise the composition of Endymion, and when he was shown the first book, only when it was ready for press, he found it "unnatural and too high-flown." Keats had a correspondingly poor opinion of Foliage on its appearance a few weeks later. "It is a great Pity that People should by associating themselves with the finest things, spoil them. Hunt has damned Hampstead and Masks and Sonnets and Italian tales. . . . " There was never an open break, and two years later Keats' ill health and Hunt's kindness were to draw them together again, but long before Keats was first lampooned as the rhyming sycophant of Hunt he had ceased to respect him as a poet or to be flattered by his patronage.

Endymion appeared at the end of April 1818, and was greeted with some enthusiasm by a few well-disposed reviewers and with overwhelming ridicule and contempt by the author's new-found enemies. Hunt failed to mention the poem in the Examiner until the new autumn. The Literary Journal, on the other hand, published an early and laudatory review. There was another in the Champion, for which Keats had written dramatic criticism the previous winter. In the Oxford Herald Bailey published a friendly critique to gain favourable notice for the poem on the banks of the Isis. But meanwhile there were ominous sounds from another quarter. In the May number of Blackwood's appeared the fourth of Lockhart's scurrilous attacks on Hunt, but the first after the publication of Foliage, the first in which Keats is quoted, and the first to proclaim the myth of the Cockney court, the "Letter from Z. to Leigh Hunt, King of the Cockneys." In tones ranging from mock-humility to gross invective, Lockhart addresses the new monarch of Hampstead, "with your 'ivy crown' 'shed nodding over "Ibid., p. 118.

*Letters, p. 31.

both eyes,' as it was fixed there by the delicate hand of young Mister Keats," who is again referred to as an "amiable but infatuated bardling." "Amiable" was apparently Lockhart's gracious concession to his friend Christie's favourable impression of the poet. While Blackwood's offered these preliminary compliments. Keats' friends daily expected the worst from the Quarterly, the most influential of the Tory reviews. John Taylor, the publisher of Endymion, who had no great opinion of the poem, had taken the questionable precaution of calling on Gifford to "speak a Word in Favour of Keats."10 When the January issue at last appeared about June 6 (the Quarterly was running five months late all that year), it contained a destructive review of Hunt's Foliage with threatening glances at Shelley and one reference to the legend of Endymion, but no mention of the poem. Keats, who had reason to expect a joint review of Hunt's book and his, wryly observed: "I have more than a Laurel from the Quarterly Reviewers for they have smothered me in 'Foliage.' "11 But he had not long to wait for the first attack in force. That champion of King, Church, and Constitution, the British Critic, in its June number praised him ironically as a poet "not one whit inferior to his mighty master," Leigh Hunt, and by stringing together the most inept phrases in the poem to tell of the most ludicrous events gave the impression that it was only a clutter of pseudo-mythological nonsense? Then when Keats returned exhausted and ill from the walking-tour in Scotland, to find the signs of death on his brother's face and watch through that autumn how "youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies," he was greeted by Lockhart's outrageous attack in the August number of Blackwood's and Croker's less reprehensible but widely condemned observations in the belated April number of the Quarterly.12 The one was a supreme example of snobbish contempt and malevolence, the other of analytical criticism marred by complacent insensitivity. / Lockhart found it exquisitely funny

¹⁰Olive M. Taylor, "John Taylor, Author and Publisher," London Mercury, XII (1925), p. 258.

"Letters, p. 153. Taylor thought there would be a joint review of Hunt, Shelley, and Keats (Olive M. Taylor, op. cit.). Richard Woodhouse afterwards surmised that the original plan was for a joint review of Foliage and Endymion (Letters, p. 225).

15 The April issue of the Quarterly was apparently not out until shortly before September 28 when the attack on Endymion was first mentioned in the Examiner.

that an apothecary, a fellow who confessedly knew no Greek, who had to read Homer in a translation, should venture on a classic theme, and utterly damning that he had previously written lines in praise of Hunt. Croker, though he defined and illustrated several authentic faults of style in the poem, seemed to see nothing worth admiring and to be blandly unaware of any deficiency in his method or result.

It is one of the minor curiosities of the early history of Keats' reputation that the Quarterly was so generally berated for Croker's inadequate but often just observations on Endymion, whereas Blackwood's was only rarely condemned for the long campaign of mere ridicule and abuse conducted by Lockhart and his associates. Yet the contrast even in the amount of comment is noteworthy. The Quarterly published one review only and then left Keats unmolested and almost unmentioned for nearly ten years. But Blackwood's never ceased to jeer at him during the last three years of his life, and long after. If there is any truth in the view that Keats "seems to have been hooted from the stage of life," then it was undoubtedly the work of Blackwood's, not (as Shelley believed) of the Quarterly. After the preliminary quotation in 1817 of the foolish lines by Webb about "the Muses' son of promise" in the first two attacks on the "Cockney School," Blackwood's published four articles in 1818 containing scoffing references to Keats, six in 1819, four in 1820, three in 1821, five in 1822, six in 1823, seven in 1824; and the Edinburgh merry-andrews had not yet shown more than a glimmer of awareness that they might be making a mistake. On the average, every second or third month they published more witticisms about "Johnny Keats," or "pestleman Jack," the silly Cockney bard "who, like Apollo, practises poetry and pharmacy." It was only after Lockhart moved to London, at the end of 1825, to become editor of the Quarterly that the latter began to sound occasionally like Maga, for example in the contemptuous review, by Lockhart, of Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries (1828). Yet the Quarterly was from the first condemned as the chief or sole villain. Hunt, who had kept silent about both Endymion and Lockhart's attack on it, as soon as the Quarterly passed judgment, hastened in a last-minute note at the bottom of the first page of the Examiner for September 28, 1818 to "congratulate, most sincerely, our young friend John

KEATS on the involuntary homage that, we understand, has been paid to his undoubted genius, in an article full of grovelling abuse." Protests against the Quarterly's harsh treatment of the poem appeared in the next few weeks in the Morning Chronicle, the Alfred, and the Chester Guardian, and they were reprinted extensively with further comment in the Examiner (K19-23). A detailed rejoinder to Croker was included in the belated review of Endymion which appeared the next year in Baldwin's London Magazine (K31). The Scots Magazine, Gold's London Magazine, and the New Monthly joined in the chorus of condemnation (K40, 41, 45). Charles Cowden Clarke, immediately after Keats' death, publicly reproached the editor of the Quarterly for the heartless way in which "he contributed to the discomfort of a generous mind" (N8). Shelley in all seriousness and Byron partly in fun gave the widest currency to the more extravagant claim that the Quarterly had been the death of Keats. The heartless cruelty of that review was soon being proclaimed in America and France (e.g. K45, M13, 16, 25, 38). The theme was even taken up ironically by the real villain, Blackwood's, for example in this bit of representative humour:

Round the ring we sat, the stiff stuff tipsily quaffing.
[Thanks be to thee, Jack Keats; our thanks for the dactyl and spondee;
Pestleman Jack, whom according to Shelley, the Quarterly murdered
With a critique as fell as one of his own patent medicines.]

And the author adds a note: "Tipsily quaffing.—From a poem about Bacchus, written by poor Jack Keats, a man for whom I had a particular esteem. I never can read the Quarterly of late, on account of the barbarous murder it committed on that promising young man." 18

Several reasons may be proposed for this exaggerated condemnation of the Quarterly. It was the most influential and feared of the Tory reviews (the counterpart of the Whig Edinburgh), and therefore the most liable to be vilified enthusiastically by the opposition; for certainly not all the literary comment coloured by party feeling was written by the Tories. Its circulation (said to have been 14,000 in 1818) was, no doubt, much larger than that of the newly established Blackwood's, especially beyond the borders

¹³ Blackwood's, July 1823, p. 67.

of Scotland; and all its pronouncements would accordingly command greater attention.¹⁴ Moreover, Blackwood's in those early years might well have been considered an irresponsible and prankish young magazine, not to be held to strict account like the older and more respectable Quarterly. Finally, Gifford and his associates, even more than their rival Jeffrey, had an established reputation for harshness, especially toward sympathizers with the wrong political views. Therefore, any new demonstration of this characteristic roused an accumulated and, in this instance, an exaggerated indignation. If Blackwood's disseminated a gross libel in its caricature of "Johnny Keats," the friends of the injured poet were responsible for a noisier outcry against the Quarterly than Croker's review really justified.

The notoriously harsh treatment of Endymion had at least one good result: it drew attention to a new poet and prepared the way for the favourable reception of the much finer third volume, Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes, and Other Poems, which appeared early in July 1820, when Keats was seriously ill and within a few weeks of his departure for Italy. This work was more widely reviewed than the other two combined, and nearly all opinions were friendly, if somewhat less than enthusiastic. The Quarterly kept silent. The British Critic, although finding it hard to be well disposed toward a friend of Hunt admitted that its criticism of Endymion had been unjust, and recognized the author of the new volume as "really a person of no ordinary genius." Even Blackwood's had a few words to say in his favour before resuming its usual air of jocular contempt. Only the Eclectic Review and the Guardian were plainly hostile, though the Monthly Review and the Literary Chronicle were not much impressed. On the other hand, there were friendly appreciations in at least nine magazines and reviews including the lordly Edinburgh which at last joined in the debate. Jeffrey began his critique of Endymion and Lamia, etc. by remarking: "We had never happened to see either of these volumes till very lately—and have been exceedingly struck with

¹⁴Cambridge History of English Literature, XII, p. 151. Hazlitt indicates the great influence of the Quarterly on the sale of books (N4). As even more impressive testimony of popular reverence for its authority, one may cite, an old Lincolnshire squire, who assured [Tennyson] that 'The Quarterly was the next book to God's Bible'" (H. Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson (New York, 1897), I, p. 94).

the genius they display, and the spirit of poetry which breathes through all their extravagance." In the course of his general estimate of the earlier work, without mentioning its detractors, he observed that anyone who would notice only the "more obscure, unnatural, or absurd passages" and "on this account, would represent the whole poem as despicable, must either have no notion of poetry, or no regard to truth." Yet by his own slight and hardly enthusiastic observations on the later volume, Jeffrey shows that he had little understanding of the quality of Keats' more mature art.

However, in criticism of all degrees of friendliness or hostility one is apt to come across signs of perplexity or distaste which geem strange to the modern reader. The most striking may be grouped under two headings. First, the language of the poems when not simply condemned as absurd, as precious nonsense, is often found "unnatural," extravagant, or obscure. This complaint is laid not merely against *Isabella* (where it could be justified), or Le few lines elsewhere, but against the volume as a whole. Literary Chronicle, for example, quotes with approval the Ode on a Grecian Urn and "Bards of Passion," but expresses disappointment at the author's comparative failure elsewhere: "let him avoid all sickly affectation on one hand, and unintelligible quaintness on the other. Let him avoid coining new words, and give us the English language as it is taught and written in the nineteenth century. . . ! These poems contain many beautiful passages, but they are too thickly strewed with the faults we have noticed, to entitle them to more than a very qualified approval, Even Baldwin's London Magazine, after a defence and appreciation of the poems, found it necessary to regret their "frequent obscurity and confusion of language," the substitution of suggestion for statement, and the "quaint strangeness of phrase." In fact, in nearly all this comiment of 1820 on Keats' language one detects not so much a deficiency of goodwill as of sensibility, observation, and a knowledge of literary history. No one seems to have found anything astonishing in Keats' poetical development in the three years between the first volume and the third or to have noticed any great and commendable difference in language and imagery between Calidore and let us say, The Eve of St. Agnes. No one seems to have thought it extraordinary that a person with few advantages who did not

begin writing verse until he was nineteen should at twenty-three be composing Hyperion and the great odes. As for the power of concentrated imaginative suggestion, the Shakespearean splendour and opulence of language which since Arnold's time has been accepted as obvious and indisputable, this seems to have been almost unnoted or perhaps deplored as "unintelligible quaintness." 16 Yet Keats' language and imagery was, I suppose, inevitably strange and even distasteful to a generation used to the comparatively simple fare provided by Scott, Moore, Southey, Rogers, and Campbell—a generation-that still found Wordsworth obscure or even unintelligible when he was not merely trivial, and that read Byron for many reasons but not least because he was easy to understand. Leigh Hunt reports that Byron "asked me what was the meaning of a beaker 'full of the warm south.' It was not the word beaker that puzzled him. College had made him intimate enough with that. But the sort of poetry in which he excelled,

¹⁶The Shakespearean analogy is referred to, without conviction, in a quotation given in K60. To illustrate how even the well disposed were repelled by Keats' poetic language, I quote at some length from the comment on the 1820 volume in the *Monthly Review* (K34):

"This little volume must and ought to attract attention, for it displays the ore of true poetic genius, though mingled with a large portion of dross. Mr. Keats is a very bold author, bold perhaps because (as we learn) he has yet but little more than touched the 'years of discretion;' and he has carried his peculiarities both of thought and manner to an extreme which, at the first view, will to many persons be very displeasing. Yet, whatever may be his faults, he is no Della Crusca poet; for, though he is frequently involved in ambiguity, and dressed in the affectation of quaint phrases, we are yet sure of finding in all that he writes the proof of deep thought and energetic reflection. . . .

"Very few persons, probably, will admire Mr. Keats on a short acquaintance; and the light and the frivolous never will.... Unfortunately, Mr. Keats may blame himself for much of this neglect; since he might have conceded something to established taste, or (if he will) established prejudice, without derogating from his own originality of thought and spirit. On the contrary, he seems to have written directly in despite of our preconceived notions of the manner in which a poet ought to write; and he is continually shocking our ideas of poetical decorum, at the very time when we are acknowledging the hand of genius....

"For ourselves, we think that Mr. Keats is very faulty. He is often laboriously obscure; and he sometimes indulges in such strange intricacies of thought, and peculiarities of expression, that we find considerable difficulty in discovering his meaning. Most unluckily for him, he is a disciple in a school in which these peculiarities are virtues: but the praises of this small coterie will hardly compensate for the disapprobation of the rest of the literary world."

XXX 3

was not accustomed to these poetical concentrations." Again, the reviewer of Lamia, etc. in so friendly a journal as Baldwin's London Magazine cites as a noteworthy example of "obscurity and confusion of language" that Keats "attaches the epithet of 'leaden-eyed,' to despair, considered as a quality or sentiment [and not personified]." Keats' language was simply ahead of the general cultivated taste of his time and beyond the range of appreciation of the reviewers who reflected that taste.

The second main cause of complaint is mentioned almost as frequently—Keats' use of classical mythology. Blackwood's, of course, never tired of guffawing at the "Cockneys" for trying to be "Greekish." "There they are, a pack of poor illiterate creatures, (not one of whom could tell, within fifty miles, what is the meaning of a Middle Voice,) all piping about Pan, and Apollo, and Endymion, and the Muses, and the Graces. . . "17 But more friendly readers of the Lamia volume had doubts concerning the wisdom of attempting a mythological poem in the nineteenth century, and others were annoyed by Keats' unclassical way of ascribing complex human feelings and contemporary romantic moods to the ancient gods. Jeffrey, although he could not "advise the completion" of Hyperion, described sympathetically the new manner in his comments on Endymion.

There is something very curious too, we think, in the way in which he, and Mr Barry Cornwall also, have dealt with the Pagan mythology, of which they have made so much use in their poetry. Instead of presenting its imaginary persons under the trite and vulgar traits that belong to them in the ordinary systems, little more is borrowed from these than the general conception of their conditions and relations; and an original character and distinct individuality is bestowed upon them, which has all the merit of invention, and all the grace and attraction of the fictions on which it is engrafted.

This is only an elaboration of what had been observed two months earlier by the reviewer of Barry Cornwall's A Sicilian Story in the Monthly Magazine (K32): "In a few passages we observe rather too strong a resemblance to the Endymion of Mr. Keates, who is the precursor of Mr. C. in the mythological and classical style of poetry, engrafted on that of the present age."

¹⁶Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries, p. 266.

¹⁷ Blackwood's, Oct. 1822, p. 479.

The common association of Keats with Barry Cornwall may also afford an occasion to note that not even the most friendly reviewers of the Lamia volume in 1820 realized that here was one of the memorable books of the time and that its author was already the rival not of Barry Cornwall but of Lord Byron himself for the suffrage of the future. Many recognized his rich promise, none his achievement, the gathered harvest of "full ripen'd grain." Nor is this deficiency of judgment surprising when the wisest and most perceptive critic of the volume, its author, failed to understand that the desired victory-was won against time and oblivion. Two years earlier, writing to his brother about the notorious reviews in Blackwood's and the Quarterly, he could say humbly yet with confidence: "I think I shall be among the English Poets after my death." But in the loneliness and misery of the last weeks, far from home and friends, looking back on life and hope as a ghost from the shades, he feared that all his highest ambitions had come to nothing. It was then that he asked Severn to place no name above his grave but only: "Here lies one whose name was writ in water."

TII

Keats' friends concurred in this despairing judgment. Mischance, the malice of his enemies, and early death had cheated him of a great place in the literature of his country. All agreed that the man who had been their friend was a person of remarkable genius, but it seemed most unlikely that the world would ever recognize the fact. At best he had left enough written to show the promise of great things not yet attained. The sudden ruin of his hope, and theirs, made them feel as if they had been involved in the catastrophe of a great tragedy and their early comments on the event were touched with a sense of pity and awe. But more positive and critical attitudes were soon apparent. Some of his friends found satisfaction in identifying and exposing to shame the villainous antagonist in the drama. Others sought to define the tragic flaw in the otherwise perfect character of the hero. Still others of more extensive and practical ambition would play Horatic to their dead Hamlet and rescue "a wounded name" from the world's slander by telling his story. The immediate results were the creation of two new myths by Keats' well-meaning friends and

the consideration of some plans to destroy an old one. The principal villain was announced to be the already stigmatized Quarterly; Keats' tragic flaw was identified as undue sensitivity to criticism; and it was generally agreed that a memoir should be published as soon as possible to tell the truth about the poet and especially to expose as a grotesque and malicious fiction the myth of "Johnny Keats the Cockney."

The renewed outcry against the Quarterly was to be expected. For two years and a half it had been widely criticized for its alleged cruelty to Keats. Soon after his death the charge was raised to homicide. Shelley first made the new accusation in a letter to Byron of April 16, 1821: "Young Keats, whose 'Hyperion' showed' so great a promise, died lately at Rome from the consequences of breaking a blood-vessel, in paroxysms of despair at the contemptuous attack on his book in the Quarterly Review." Byron was decently sympathetic but a trifle sceptical about Shelley's diagnosis: "I am very sorry to hear what you say of Keats—is it actually true? I did not think criticism had been so killing." Writing on the same day (April 26) to John Murray, the Quarterly's publisher and his own, Byron was more expansive and reminiscent.

Is it true, what Shelley writes me, that poor John Keats died at Rome of the Quarterly Review? I am very sorry for it, though I think he took the wrong line as a poet, and was spoilt by Cockneyfying, and Suburbing, and versifying Tooke's Pantheon and Lempriere's Dictionary. I know, by experience, that a savage review is Hemlock to a sucking author; and the one on me (which produced the English Bards, etc.) knocked me down—but I got up again. Instead of bursting a bloodvessel, I drank three bottles of Claret, and began an answer, finding that there was nothing in the Article for which I could

18 The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley (Roger Ingpen ed., London and New York, 1926), X, p. 255. The accusation was anticipated in Shelley's letter to William Gifford (ibid., p. 218), written in the previous autumn, but neither finished nor sent: "Poor Keats was thrown into a dreadful state of mind by this review, which, I am persuaded, was not written with any intention of producing the effect to which it has at least greatly contributed, of embittering his existence, and inducing a disease from which there are now but faint hopes of his recovery. The first effects are described to me to have resembled insanity, and it was by assiduous watching that he was restrained from effecting purposes of suicide. The agony of his sufferings at length produced the rupture of a blood vessel in the lungs, and the usual process of consumption appears to have begun."

18 The Works of Lord Byron (R. E. Prothero ed., London, 1901), XII, p. 267.

lawfully knock Jeffrey on the head, in an honourable way. However, I would not be the person who wrote the homicidal article, for all the honour and glory in the World, though I by no means approve of the School of Scribbling which it treats upon.²⁰

It will be observed from the last sentence that Byron was already willing to believe, without Shelley's further assurance, that Keats died "of the Quarterly Review." He was credulous because of his deep-rooted contempt for the author of Sleep and Poetry with its suburban sentimentality and its unpardonable censure of the Augustans. Only a maudlin Cockney rhymer who had begun by blaspheming against Pope could be expected to die of a review. Yet the expression of sympathy was also authentic and typical: distaste subdued by pity and enlivened by wit was to be Byron's characteristic attitude toward Keats from this time. Shelley, on the other hand, was roused to impulsive sympathy and indignation. He hastened to assure Byron, on May 4, that neither the culpability of the Quarterly nor the young poet's fatal sensitivity, had been exaggerated, and cited Hunt as his authority.21 Then a few weeks later, in the preface to Adonais, he laid his accusation before the public: "The savage criticism on his Endymion, which appeared in the Quarterly Review, produced the most violent effect on his susceptible mind; the agitation thus originated ended in the rupture of a blood-vessel in the lungs; a rapid consumption ensued, and the succeeding acknowledgments from more candid critics of the true greatness of his powers were ineffectual to heal the wounds thus wantonly inflicted."

Shelley's indictment of the Quarterly is manifestly groundless, if read literally. Keats' first haemorrhage did not occur until February 1820, almost a year and a half after the appearance of Croker's allegedly lethal review. There is no reason to believe that there was an earlier attack of illness, in September or October 1818. The letters of the time indicate that Keats had almost recovered from the physical exhaustion caused by the walkingtour in Scotland and was not much ruffled by either Blackwood's or the Quarterly. The state of Tom's health was his gravest concern. Then how did Shelley manage to get the facts so distorted? When he wrote "Hunt tells me" to Byron on May 4, 1821, and

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 269-70.

²¹The Complete Works of Shelley, X, p. 265.

then repeated his charges, was he referring to a recently received etter, or to one that antedated the unfinished letter to William Gifford with its similar phrasing and accusation (autumn 1820), or to some still earlier communication? None of Hunt's published. letters, known to me, can be Shelley's source. The one of November 12, 1818, in which he mentions the Quarterly's attack on Keats, gives not the least indication, six weeks after the appearance of the review, that the victim had been much disturbed.²² Likewise, the letters of 1820-1, written in the months just before and after Keats' death, throw no light on the question of how Shelley came to believe as he did. Moreover, Hunt does not seem to have been aware that he had been cited as the chief witness against the Quarterly. When Byron gave the widest currency in Don Juan; to the myth that Keats' life had been "snuffed out by an article," Hunt protested that this was not true. "He could not resist, however, making urdue mention of one of the causes that affected his health. A good rhyme about particle and article was not to be given up. I told him he was mistaken in attributing Mr. Keats's death to the critics, though they had perhaps hastened, and certainly embittered it; and he promised to alter the passage. . . . "23 But Byron could not bring himself to expunge even one witty passage from Don Juan, and it was too late to have Adonais amended, so Shelley's charge against the Quarterly continued to stand, doing more harm to Keats than to that doughty review and giving support to the related misconception that he was a person of unusually tender sensibilities, unable to bear the world's rebuffs.

Both misconceptions apparently resulted from the exaggeration of a small part of the truth; and both probably had their origin in the circumstances of a brief period in Keats' life, from May to August, 1820. Early in May, when he seemed to be slowly recovering from the first onset of tuberculosis, he was compelled to leave Wentworth Place, and the daily company of Fanny Brawne, because Brown had rented his part of the house for the summer and was about to set out for Scotland. In his new quarters in Kentish Town (not far from Hunt but an impossibly long distance

²²The Correspondence of Leigh Hunt (Thornton Hunt ed., London, 1862), I, pp. 124-6.

²² Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries, p. 266.

from Hampstead), ill, lonely, and wretched, his once cheerful and steadfast mind was sometimes nearly overwhelmed by changing passions of suspicion, jealousy, despair, and a love that induced more misery than joy. All of his friends who saw him in those weeks must have been shocked at the change which had occurred, especially at the sudden growth of a neurotic sensitivity. By the end of May or early in June he was writing jealous letters to Fanny, accusing her of coldness toward him and of former flirtations with Brown.24 In another angry mood, all his friends who showed concern over the course of the love-affair, or took any notice of it, were denounced as "tattlers and inquisitors into my conduct. . . . For this I cannot wish them well, I care not to see any of them again."25 Writing to Brown in a more subdued manner, after some unexplained tantrum, he reports: "I did behave badly; but it is to be attributed to my health, spirits, and the disadvantageous ground I stand on in society."26 For his disadvantageous ground he could well blame Blackwood's and the Quarterly: the one had been enthusiastically publishing libels about "Johnny Keats, the Cockney" for two years and a half; the other had done its large share toward making Endymion a financial failure. And another financial failure would mean not merely straitened circumstances, but the indefinite postponement of marriage and the abandonment of hope of gaining a place among the English poets. "This shall be my last trial," he told Brown in the letter just quoted; "not succeeding, I shall try what I can do in the apothecary line." Love and Fame depended on his success with the Lamia volume, which was going through the press that June. Gifford and Lockhart had it in their power on this occasion to ruin more than the sale of a book. The doctor had explained that the haemorrhage and long illness which began in February were caused in part by his "anxiety of mind of late years. . . . "27 Then on June 22, a week

²⁴Letters, pp. 490-1, 496-7. These two letters are dated by the reference to "this month" past, that is, from the time when Keats left Wentworth Place on May 4. They were plainly sent together; probably the headings "Tuesday Morn—" and "Wednesday Morng" were added as an afterthought, and put on the wrong letters.

²⁶Ibid., p. 500. This letter should be dated June (not July); it belongs after the two cited in the preceding note, and before the second onset of haemorrhage and debility which began on June 22.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 492. ²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 486.

or ten days before the fateful appearance of the Lamia volume, when Keats' anxiety of mind about its success must have been severe, on the day when he met Shelley's friends the Gisbornes at Hunt's, there occurred the second and deeply ominous haemorrhage. The Gisbornes' report of the event to Shelley produced the invitation to winter at Pisa. If Hunt, for his part, mentioned Keats' recent neurotic sensitivity, his bitterness at the unfair treatment he had received from the Tory reviews (including Shelley's principal enemy, the Quarterly)²⁸, and then the bursting of a blood-vessel, that hypothetical letter could be the source of Shelley's distorted view of the crime of the Quarterly and the fading of the pale flower.²⁹ And if we think of the months of illness rather than of the earlier years of health there will seem to be

²⁸In the Morning Chronicle, after Keats' death, Clarke assured the editor of the Quarterly that he had "contributed to the discomfort of a generous mind" and mentioned an occasion when Keats spoke "with sensative [sic] bitterness of the unfair treatment he had experienced . . ." (N8). This must have been after Feb. 14, 1819 (Letters, p. 298), but apparently not long after, for in 1846 Clarke remembered that the last time he saw Keats "he read to me the poem he had last finished," The Eve of St. Agnes (The Keats Circle (H. E. Rollins ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1948), II, p. 151). No doubt later illness and despair deepened Keats' sense of the malignity of his enemies.

²⁰I am suggesting that Hunt wrote to Shelley to this effect not long after June 22, 1820. There is very little evidence to support this hypothesis, but there seems to be rather less to support any other. It is quite possible that Shelley misunderstood and greatly exaggerated what Hunt told him about Keats' feelings and the onset of consumption, but I find it hard to believe that Hunt told him nothing and that Shelley's account was pure fiction.

The Correspondence of Leigh Hunt includes letters of April 6 and August 23, 1820, and nothing between those dates. The second letter, as printed, ends: "Keats, who is better, is sensible of your kindness, and has sent you a letter and a fine piece of poetry by the Gisbornes. He is advised to go to Rome, but will call on you in the spring." This would seem to indicate that Hunt had told of Keats' illness in an earlier letter, which is not extant. It would be very strange indeed if this slight reference on August 23 were the only one that summer in Hunt's correspondence with Shelley, especially when the invalid was for almost two months living in Hunt's house. In the Indicator for August 9 (K37), Hunt referred to Keats' illness and to the "critical malignity" of the reviewers in the same sentence. A similar association, plus the details of physical and emotional distress that might be mentioned in a letter, would perhaps be enough, on my theory, to make Shelley believe as he did. It is worth noting that the reviewer of Prometheus Unbound in the September number of Blackwood's (K48) had at that early date heard that Keats' friends were saying that "a great deal" of his "bad state of health" was to be attributed to "the critical castigation his Endymion drew down on him in this magazine." I don't know if Shelley ever saw this review.

nothing surprising in the testimony of those friends of Keats who apparently did just that for some time after his death. in the preface to The Garden of Florence and Other Poems (N6), after referring to the plan of collaborating with Keats in a series of translations of Boccaccio into English verse, remarked: "His intense mind and powerful feeling would, I truly believe, have done the world some service, had his life been spared-but he was of too sensitive a nature—and thus he was destroyed!")Hazlitt, in the Table-Talk (N4), made reference to the scoffing remarks in Blackwood's and the Quarterly and added: "Poor Keats! What was sport to the town, was death to him. Young, sensitive delicate... and unable to endure the miscreant cry and idiot laugh, [he] withdrew to sigh his last breath in foreign climes.") Clarke's letter in the Morning Chronicle of July 27, 1821 has already been referred to in this connection. There can be no doubt that Keats in illness was much more sensitive to the continuing ridicule of his detractors than Keats in health. The portrait delineated by Shelley and given to the world in Adonais bore some resemblance to Keats ill, but none to Keats well.) Finally, in his moods of angry resentment he may even have anticipated Shelley's most severe accusation of the reviewers. Fanny Brawne, who was most likely to reflect his feelings during his last weeks in England, did not hesitate to say that he was "murdered, for that is the case, by the mere malignity of the world. . . . "30)

The early publication of a memoir to tell the truth about Keats was advocated by all his friends, but they could not agree on who should be the author and they differed considerably in their view of the truth. John Taylor was first into the field, and it was his angry and righteous intention to tell the world that George Keats' borrowings had left his brother nearly destitute and consequently miserable in the last year of his life. As early as February 19, 1821, he was threatening to expose George: "But if he has a greater regard for Money than for his own Reputation let him be acquainted with the Consequences. His Brother is on his Deathbed—his life is a Subject of public Interest, and it will be written." By March 28, Taylor had decided to proceed and had taken note of othe

⁸⁰Letters of Fanny Brawne to Fanny Keats (V35), p. 15.

⁸¹ Edmund Blunden, Keats's Publisher (V36), pp. 85-6.

enemies to be exposed: "I believe I shall try to write his lifeit is the wish of his friends and was Keats's wish also-in that case I shall have Occasion to speak of the Treatment he has met with from the Race of Critics and Lampooners."32 Bailey let him have some of Keats' letters; the Woodhouse transcripts would be at his disposal. Richard Abbey was interrogated about his ward's parents and youth; Reynolds was willing to help; and on June 4, 1821 the Morning Chronicle announced: "Speedily will be published, with a portrait, Memoirs and Remains of John Keats. Printed for Taylor and Hessey, Fleet Street." A similar announcement appeared in the June number of Blackwood's. But opposition to Taylor and his supporters soon appeared. Reynolds asked Brown to send papers to Taylor; and Brown refused to comply unless he were given the right to see and correct the memoir before its publication. He also expressed his disapproval of Taylor's indecent haste and told Severn that Hunt, Dilke, and Richards were of his mind, adding, "I will not consent to be a party in a bookseller's job."38 Meanwhile Severn had sent some of the Keats material in his possession to Brown and in September urged him (failing a satisfactory agreement with Taylor) to write the biography himself. Clarke also was said to be "thinking of writing a memoir."34 Even Shelley, in Pisa, was considering the same project, though, as he wrote Severn on November 29, he did not "feel assured that a critical notice of his [Keats'] writings would find a single reader." So before the end of 1821 four authors were in sight for the memoir, but they had little in common except admiration for Keats, a belief in his unachieved greatness, and desire to explain the cause of his tragedy. Neither Taylor not Brown, the principal contenders, could draw on enough material for a complete biography. And both proved dilatory as well as uncompromising. Taylor is said by his grand-daughter to have eventually written a brief memoir; but it was not published and has apparently been lost. 35 Meanwhile, Reynolds was put forward by George Keats as a suitable biographer but he also made no progress.

³²C. A. Brown, Life of Keats (037), p. 5.

³⁸ William Sharp, The Life and Letters of Joseph Severn (V9), p. 111.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 109-10.

³⁶Olive M. Taylor, "John Taylor, Author and Publisher" (London Mercury, XII (1925), p. 260.

It was that untiring literary journalist Leigh Hunt, as might have been expected, who at length produced the first memoir of Keats, in Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries (1828), a work which was to be the principal source of information, drawn on freely by many writers, until Milnes' biography appeared in 1848. Hunt had known Keats for about four years and had a generous admiration for his art. His memoir is very slight, but is notable for incidental reminiscence, and quotations with appreciative comment. We are told of the occasions of writing "I stood tip-toe" and Sleep and Poetry; there is the story of Wordsworth's summary judgment on the "Hymn to Pan" in Endymion; we note with some surprise Hunt's reservations about the "poetical effeminacy" of that poem, remembering how often Hunt has been blamed for setting his friend a bad example in this regard; and we are given several pages of quotation including the sonnet on Chapman's Homer and the Ode to a Nightingale, "as Mr. Keats's poems are in few hands, compared to what they will be. . . ." Hunt had apparently not exerted himself very much to collect or verify information: there is little indication that he had drawn on any of Keats' friends; he quotes only one letter-of the two in his possession; and he is sometimes inaccurate in details, as when he is eight weeks out in the date of his friend's death. Nor did he consider it especially necessary to defend Keats against his detractors. He refers in restrained terms to the lampooning of the "Cockneys," regrets that he had not done more to save Keats from annovance, vet rejects Byron's (and Shelley's) extreme view of the consequences. He is careful to assert his subject's sturdiness of character, but he probably gave some unintentional support to the myth of the pale flower by poignant references to Keats' hours of misery and despair. Yet throughout the account one may find proof of Hunt's quiet assurance that he was writing of "as true a man of genius as these latter times have seen. . . ."

The publication of Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries roused the old fury of Hunt's enemies in Blackwood's and the Quarterly (M22, 23), and eventually incited Brown to make a beginning with his projected memoir. Lockhart, by that time editor of the Quarterly, berated Hunt roundly for his impudence in daring to mention such vulgar nonentities as Keats and himself among the "contemporaries" of Lord Byron, and repeated with approval all that nobleman's derisive and printable witticisms

about Keats. Wilson in Maga was as contemptuous toward all the "Cockneys," but considered it worth while to assert: "Mr. Keats died in the ordinary course of nature. Nothing was ever said in this Magazine about him, that needed to have given him an hour's sickness. . . ." If Hunt's book angered Keats' former detractors, it failed also to satisfy his friends. Brown thought it "worse than disappointing," and added (in a letter to Fanny Brawne): "it seems as if Hunt was so impressed by his illness, that he had utterly forgotten him in health."26 Fanny Brawne concurred in his opinion and found Hazlitt guilty of the same distortion: "I am glad you feel that Mr. Hunt in [him a weakness of character that only belonged to his ill health. Mr Hazlitt, if I remember rightly some remarks used five or six years ago is still more positive in fixing it on him."37/ Brown was stimulated to, begin gathering material for his memoir not only by Hunt's book but also by an inquiry from Galignani in Paris who was bringing out the first collected (and pirated) edition of Keats' poems. Here was a positive sign that his reputation as a poet was beginning to mend. Brown's intention was to publish Otho the Great and other manuscript works in his possession with a longer and more thorough memoir than Hunt's. From Fanny Brawne he asked permission to include poems and letters in which reference was made to her (though he would suppress names), and she gave her unenthusiastic consent believing that a biography would only rouse Keats' calumniators to further ridicule. I"I fear the kindest act would be to let him rest forever in the obscurity to which unhappy circumstances have condemned him. Will the writings that remain of his rescue him from it? You can tell better than I. . . . "88 At about the same time Brown applied to Severn for help, who promptly sent him some biographical information.89

After these promising preparatory activities in 1829, the biographer did next to nothing for years. Woodhouse, who visited him at Florence in 1832, extracted a promise that the memoir would

³⁶ Letters, p. lxi.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. lxiv. The reference to Hazlitt is apparently to the *Table-Talk* (N4). ⁸⁸Ibid., p. lxiii.

³⁹ Sharp, Joseph Severn, pp. 160-3.

be completed the next winter.40 Brown meanwhile did some advance advertising of the unpublished writings of Keats which he intended to include in the projected volume by allowing Trelawny to use brief excerpts as epigraphs in his Adventures of a Younger Son (L32). But the promise to Woodhouse was not kept. In 1834 Severn wrote to suggest that the manuscript of Otho the Great be brought to Rome immediately for production in a private, theatre by a group of young Englishmen, graduates of Cambridge, and "devoted admirers of Keats" to a man. "Why, you would be astonished, were you to know the many who come to me as the friend of Keats, and who idolise him as another Shakespeare. 'Tis an injustice to withhold these two works [the memoir and Otho the Great any longer. I remember you said 'the public should never have the tragedy until they have done justice to Keats's other works.' The time has come, and I FEAR THE TIME WILL PASS."41 However, it was not until 1836, after he had returned to England, that Brown set to work on his memoir in earnest, and it was read, in its first form, at the Plymouth Institution on December 27.42 Before it was finished much of the justification for it was gone. For years Brown had been accusing George Keats of heartlessness and even duplicity in his financial dealings with his brother (sharing Taylor's view in this matter) and had quarrelled with Dilke on the same subject; then after his return to England he was threatened with an injunction, to be obtained by Dilke, if he ventured to publish any of Keats' writings without George's permission. No one wanted the memoir by itself. There the matter stood until the spring of 1841 when George at last withdrew his objection to the publication of a "Memoir, and Literary Remains."48 But at the same juncture Brown decided, all of a sudden, to emigrate to New Zealand. He had in a few weeks to decide who should receive the memoir, the Keats papers in his possession, and the right to publish them. All Keats' surviving friends were for different reasons passed over, and he chose Richard Monckton Milnes because he was "a poet

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 170.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 164.

⁴² Ibid., p. 179; Brown, Life of Keats, pp. 17-18.

⁴³Sharp, Joseph Severn, p. 191.

himself, an admirer of Keats, and, in my mind, better able to sit in judgment on a selection for publication than any other man I know."44 It was a wise choice: Milnes had, among other qualities, social prestige and diplomatic skill; and he had not been involved in the earlier tensions and bickerings of Keats' friends. He set to work and soon enlisted the support of all the remaining members of the Keats circle, including Reynolds who held out for some time. The result was the publication of a work on the general lines which Brown had envisaged, but far more thorough and satisfactory, the Life, Letters, and Literary Remains, of John Keats.

IV

In the twenty-seven years between Keats' death and the publication of the first biography his reputation was not always rising, but it was much higher at the end of that period than at the beginning. I have already referred to the generally friendly, if not enthusiastic, reviews of the *Lamia* volume, the renewed criticism of the *Quarterly* which was echoed in France and the United States, and the expressions of pity and indignation which followed on the publication of *Adonais* but which were for a time not to be heard above the hoots of ridicule.

Weep for my Tomcat! all ye Tabbies weep, For he is gone at last! Not dead alone, In flowery beauty sleepeth he no sleep; Like that bewitching youth Endymion!45

Severn tells us that for a long time he could scarcely persuade any Englishmen in Rome to make the effort to read Keats' verse: "but when his gravestone was placed, with his own expressive line, 'Here lies one whose name was writ in water,' then a host started up, not of admirers, but of scoffers, and a silly jest was often repeated in my hearing, 'Here lies one whose name was writ in water, and his works in milk and water'; and this I was condemned to hear for years repeated. . . .'46

[&]quot;Ibid., p. 194.

⁴⁶ Blackwood's, Dec. 1821, p. 700.

⁴⁶Atlantic, April 1863, p. 404. Croker thought the witticism still fresh enough in 1833 to use a variant for the opening of his famous attack on Tennyson's *Poems* (M37).

Blackwood's did the most to keep this prejudice alive. Lockhart's myth of the "Cockney" poet laureate was developed in that magazine with new and outrageous variations after the publication of Adonais. There was no falling off in this contemptuous ridicule until after Lockhart moved to London at the end of 1825 (M1, etc.). But lest it be thought that John Wilson, the new editor, was of a different mind, I quote a few sentences from the long preface to his first number in which he proudly listed the battle-honours of Maga:

That we did smash that pestilent sect [the "Cockney School"], we acknowledge with pleasure. A baser crew never was spewed over literature. Conceited, ignorant, insolent, disaffected, irreligious, and obscene, they had, by force of impudence, obtained a certain sway over the public mind. . . . That we did our work roughly, we acknowledge; they were not vermin to be crushed by a delicate finger. . . . [Keats] was a Cockney, and the Cockneys claimed him for their own. Never was there a young man so encrusted with conceit. He added new treasures to his mother-tongue,—and what is worse, he outhunted Hunt in a species of emasculated pruriency, that, although invented in Little Britain, looks as if it were the product of some imaginative Eunuch's muse within the melancholy inspiration of the Haram. Besides, we know that the godless gang were flattering him into bad citizenship, and wheedling him out of his Christian faith.⁴⁷

So wrote "Christopher North," the principal representative of belles-lettres in Scotland and the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh.

might have seemed to be the last word on Keats, but before the end of the decade other testimony was beginning to be heard. Hunt's memoir, with all its shortcomings, was plainly nearer the truth than Professor Wilson's estimate. Then in 1829 there was published the Galignani collection in Paris and the second edition of Adonais (the first in England) at Cambridge, the latter work an expression of undergraduate piety toward two poets who were just beginning to come into their own. Severn remembered his

⁴⁷Blackwood's, Jan. 1826, pp. xv-xvi, xxvi. "New treasures to his mother-tongue" is, of course, an ironic reference to Keats' much-ridiculed coinage of new words. For the authorship of this article see Mrs. Gordon, "Christopher North," II, p. 377.

surprise when he first heard of the Galignani edition with its suggestion of Keats "becoming the poet of 'the million.' "48 As for Adonais, now brought forward by the earnest Cambridge Apostles, he recalled that when news of the earlier edition, published at Pisa in 1821, reached his family in England, they were shocked and deeply concerned to learn that his name was mentioned in the Preface, fearing lest the association should "be ruinous to my standing and prospects. . . . Ten years later I was sought at Rome by members of the young aristocracy, as the friend of Keats and Shelley."49 Severn also tells of his daily meetings in Rome in 1830 with Sir Walter Scott, fatally stricken and withir a few months of his death. On one occasion (having never hearc of Sir Walter's old connection with the Quarterly) Severn commented on Keats' rising fame, and was startled by the signs o., distress that crossed the invalid's face. "Sir Walter then falteringly remarked, 'Yes, yes, the world finds out these things for itself at last." "50

The world was beginning to find out, but it took less generous and perceptive party-men than Sir Walter considerably longer to learn. In 1833 Croker again demonstrated his complacent ineptitude as a reviewer of poetry by his famous criticism of Tennyson's Poems (M37), beginning with an ironic account of the popular demand for new editions of Keats, and praising Tennyson as "a new prodigy of genius—another and a brighter star of that galaxy or milky way of poetry of which the lamented Keats was the harbinger." But the old violence of partisan feeling was waning—even in Blackwood's and the Quarterly. As early as 1828 Hunt could note with satisfaction how times had altered: the Tory

⁴⁸ Atlantic, April 1863, p. 405.

⁴⁹Sharp, Joseph Severn, p. 121.

⁵⁰ Atlantic, April 1863, pp. 405-6.

bilt seems to me that the evidence for Croker's authorship, as given in the Quarterly, 210 (1909), pp. 775-6, is still unshaken. For the view that Lockhart was the author see Hildyard, Lockhart's Literary Criticism, pp. 11-12. Miss Hildyard's argument depends on the assumption that, in an exchange of letters in 1842 concerning Stirling's recent and favourable review in the Quarterly of Tennyson's new volume, Lockhart and Croker were making comparative reference not to the 1833 review of Tennyson but to some other and unidentified article on him by Croker. That Croker had published an earlier and derogatory review in the Quarterly is implied clearly.

government of that time was far less fearful of change than the surviving "Pittites" of a decade earlier. 52 Soon parliamentary reform, the social legislation of the thirties, and the beginning of the Tractarian controversy introduced a new era with interests and programmes that would have seemed utterly deplorable to Gifford or any defender of the established order in 1818. The great Victorian age was at hand. Referring to the early thirties, Severn mentions "the extraordinary change I now observed in the manners and morals of Englishmen generally: the foppish love of dress was in a great measure abandoned, and all intellectual pursuits were caught up with avidity, and even made fashionable."58 One sign of the revolution was the change in the literary taste of intelligent readers. It no longer appeared self-evident that Byron was a far finer poet than Wordsworth, Shelley, or Keats. It was no longer an indication of sound principles in literature and public affairs to dismiss contemptously the latter three as a prosy dullard. a seditious atheist, and a Cockney simpleton. Wordsworth's moral and philosophic speculation in verse won him his first wide and earnest audience in the eighteen-thirties, before he was rivalled by Browning and Tennyson. It was in December 1829 that the Cambridge Union sent Hallam, Milnes, and Sunderland to Oxford to maintain the unheard-of thesis that Shelley was a finer poet than Byron.) Atheist Shelley was coming to be admired as Shelley the idealist, and in less theological times he would be sometimes considered, because of his humanitarian benevolence, a gentle exemplar of the Christian faith. Severn mentions the increasing number of literary pilgrims who sought out the Protestant Cemetery in Rome: "One great cause of this change, no doubt, was the rise of all kinds of mysticism in religious opinions, which often associated themselves with Shelley's poetry." If the author of Adonais had helped to make Keats known, and misunderstood, the young Tennyson eventually prepared the reading public not only for his own verse but for that of Keats. 55) Croker's review of Poems (1832) was every bit as harsh and inadequate as his criticism of Endymion fourteen years earlier, though it was without trace

⁵²Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries, p. 256.

⁵³ Atlantic, April 1863, p. 405. 54 Ibid.

⁵⁵For a development of this point see George Ford, *Keats and the Victorians* (P36), pp. 17-21.

of partisan rancour. But Tennyson did not die three years later, leaving a much finer volume to the world, and so become another of "the inheritors of unfulfilled renown." He discarded some poems, rewrote others, bided his time, and when after the lapse of ten years the next volume appeared, the foundation of his enormous popularity was established. Since he had been frequently compared to Keats by the latter's deriders (e.g. M35, 37, 42), his new popularity made possible and inevitable a reconsideration of the claims of his predecessor. In 1839 Lockhart in a review of a volume of Milnes' poems (M42) warned that fashionable author that he would "regret few sins more bitterly than the homage he has now rendered at the fantastic shrines of such baby idols as Mr. John Keats and Mr. Alfred Tennyson."56 But Lockhart was out of touch with the times. The next year the first collected edition of Keats' poems to be published in England at last appeared; the year after that Milnes undertook the task of writing Keats' biography; and the following year saw the decisive arrival of Tennyson on the scene.

Although no new edition of Keats poems was published in England until nineteen years after his death, he was not as entirely neglected by the public as this fact might seem to indicate. The number of periodicals and anthologies which contained poems or excerpts from poems was very considerable. The list given in Section L is, no doubt, far from complete: it represents only the items which I happened to notice, often when looking for something easily yield as many more. But even the forty-five odd entries in this section between 1822 and 1839 (plus Section M, illustrating the critical comment in the same years, often with quotations) make it clear that Keats was never forgotten, though at no time in this period was he as frequently quoted as Byron, Wordsworth, or Shelley—not to mention lesser and popular writers. Several facts about the entries in Section L may be worth notice. As one

⁵⁶For proof of Lockhart's authorship see Hildyard, Lockhart's Literary Criticism, p. 162. Miss Hildyard reports and apparently accepts the story (ibid., p. 9) that Lockhart, having repented of his harshness to Keats, "strongly advocated" the publication of the first English collected editions in the early forties. Cf. E. V. Lucas, The Colvins and Their Friends (New York, 1928), p. 196. I find this impossible to believe on the evidence submitted, and most unlikely in view of Lockhart's recent comment.

would expect they are not evenly distributed. They are comparatively numerous in 1822, the year after Keats' death and the. publication of Adonais. (They had also been frequent in 1821; see the end of Section J.) I have come across only one or two items per year between 1823 and 1827. Then between 1828 and 1830, at the time of the publication of Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries and the Galignani edition, the average rises suddenly to six a year. There is apparently another slack period in the late thirties, and then, as one would again expect, a rise in the frequency of quotation after the English editions began to appear in the forties. In the second place, one may attempt to deduce a little about the average taste of the period and the general view of Keats from the choice of poems for quotation. to a Nightingale is by far the most popular, followed by The Ev. of St. Agnes. The more classic poems such as Hyperion and the Ode on a Grecian Urn are usually passed over, and Lamia seems to have been neglected almost entirely. The popularity of the Ode to a Nightingale probably owes something to a common misunderstanding about the circumstances of composition. The writer of the note in Time's Telescope for 1822 (L5) remarks: "The poem will be more striking to the reader, when he understands that it was written not long before Mr. Keats left England, when the author's powerful mind had for some time past inhabited a sickened and shaking body,—and had suffered deeply from the baleful effects of the poisoned shafts of critical malignity!"57 For twenty years after 1828, Hunt gave wider currency to the belief that Keats composed the poem "while he lay sleepless and suffering under the illness which he felt to be mortal."58 The Ode to a Nightingale was accordingly thought of as the last poignant cry of the sensitive and wounded being whose elegy was sung in Adonais. The fairly frequent appearance of "In a drear-nighted December" would also seem to suggest a liking for the wistful and sentimental if it were not that Isabella and the Ode on Melancholy are rarely quoted. Finally it may be remarked that over forty of Keats' poems appear in these early anthologies and periodicals, and many of them are there printed for the first time.

⁵⁷P. 42. The writer here misunderstands and misquotes, without acknowledgment of source, part of a sentence in Hunt's review of the *Lamia* volume (K37), just before the quotation of the *Ode to a Nightingale*.

⁵⁸Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries, p. 263.

Meanwhile the first collected edition appeared in France and an imitation of it was printed and frequently reissued in the United States. In the late twenties, A. and W. Galignani of Paris published a notable series of the recent English poets, and others, at a price which only piracy made possible, or rather the absence of international copyright. In 1829 there appeared The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats (B1), containing, in addition to the Keats material in the three original volumes, The Human Seasons and To Ailsa Rock from Hunt's Literary Pocket-Book (1819), On a Picture of Leander from the Gem (1829), and "In a drearnighted December" which was first published in the London Literary Gazette on September 19, 1829. This unauthorized French edition of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats was in turn made free with by American publishers. In 1831, J. Howe of Philadelphia set up and stereotyped a volume (B2) which followed page-for-page the text of the Galignani edition, included the same memoirs only slightly altered, was of the same general format, and had a frontispiece, with portraits, which was a very close copy of the original.⁵⁹ Seventeen variants of this American-Galignani edition are listed in the bibliography. The sixteen which I have seen were apparently all from the same plates, and were all printed and published in Philadelphia; the specious suggestion of multiplicity and variety was secured by changing the date or the name of the publisher on the title-page, and by sometimes combining the Keats text with the work of new authors. Seven variants (B3-9) differ from the American original only in the forms of the title-page. Five more (B14, 18, 23, 30, 30a) contain additional poems by Coleridge; and the latter four of these have a different frontispiece. Five other issues of the American-Galignani text of Keats (B10, 17, 20, 22, 28) were published in combination with poems of Mary Howitt and H. H. Milman, again with a new frontispiece which was a simple modification of the original American one, for "the poet-priest Milman" (whom Byron lists as one of the suspects in "Who killed John Keats?") looks out from the frame formerly occupied by Shelley, and Mrs. Howitt (wearing a remarkable hat) appears in place of the sage of Highgate. All these variants with dates of

⁵⁶The shading of the architectural framework of the American frontispiece is much darker than in the French one; otherwise it requires careful attention, and a magnifying glass, to distinguish the difference.

publication ranging from 1831 to after 1853, represent then, strictly speaking, only one edition of Keats' poems. Although they prove the ingenuity and thriftiness of American publishers, they cannot be made to demonstrate that there was a great demand for the work of Keats unless it can be shown that many copies were sold and that the buyers were principally interested in Keats rather than in Coleridge and Shelley, or Howitt and Milman, or in merely getting a bargain, three poets for the price of one. That there was a growing interest in Keats in the United States after 1830, Professor Rollins has demonstrated beyond doubt. But the American-Galignani edition with its Protean forms is, by itself, a dubious indication of that interest:

In the forties, collected editions began to appear at last in England. As late as 1835, Taylor was still taking a dark view of the risk of publishing such a volume: "I fear that even 250 copies would not sell." Three years later Brown reported another reading of the situation to Severn: "Moxon told me that Taylor, like a dog in a manger, will neither give a second edition, nor allow another to give one. But now, I believe, his copyright is out." This last was not true, but Taylor soon proved more willing to allow publication. In 1840 there appeared, "By Permission of the Proprietor," The Poetical Works of John Keats, a cheap paper-covered edition in "Smith's Standard Library" (B11). Perhaps the mean appearance of it (the first collected edition in England of the poems of Keats, nineteen years after his death)

⁶⁰Rough tests, such as checking the final word on certain pages in the different issues, seem to indicate that all the American-Galignani volumes are from the same plates. One can also find identical defects of type in different issues, almost certain proof that the volume was not reset. For example, in the five variants before me at the moment (B6, 10, 14, 22, and 30a), ranging in date from 1835 to later than 1853, and including volumes with both the Coleridge-Shelley and the Howitt-Milman poems, the following among many common defects may be noted: (1) in the first line of *Lamia* the "i" in "time" is without a dot; (2) in the nineteenth line of *To Autumn* the "i" in "like" is broken; (3) the "U" at the beginning of the last line, column 1, p. 47, is imperfect. These defects (and many others) persist in five pseudo-editions over perhaps twenty years. The fact that other defects of this sort are not common to these issues only shows that worn and broken type was occasionally noted and replaced, and that there were probably several printings.

⁶¹ Blunden, Keats's Publisher, p. 199.

⁶² Sharp, Joseph Severn, p. 187.

was enough to shame Taylor and William Smith into producing something more worthy. The next year, Smith produced "for the Proprietor" a much more attractive book (B12), with a frontispiece after the portrait by Hilton which was in Taylor's possession. For some time Taylor had ceased to have his old interest in the publication of poetry, and in 1846 we find him negotiating with Moxon for the sale of his copyright of Keats. The next year there appeared the first of eight neat and unpretentious editions, and many reissues, with the Moxon imprint—books that were to make the poems of Keats easily available to Victorian England. In 1848 Moxon performed an equally important service when he brought out the long-delayed Life, Letters, and Literary Remains, of John Keats, edited by Richard Monckton Milnes.

v

Milnes' book was certainly not a biography of the first rank, but it would be difficult to name one that was better designed "for the purpose of vindicating the character and advancing the fame" of its subject. Falsehoods and half-truths about Keats had been in circulation for thirty years, some inspired by enemies, others by well-meaning friends, and all accepted indiscriminately by the reading public. In the Preface (pp. xvi-xvii) the biographer gives an account of his first and general problem.

I had else to consider what procedure was most likely to raise the character of Keats in the estimation of those most capable of judging it. I saw how grievously he was misapprehended even by many who wished to see in him only what was best. I perceived that many, who heartily admired his poetry, looked on it as the production of a wayward, erratic, genius, self-indulgent in conceits, disrespectful of the rules and limitations of Art, not only unlearned but careless of knowledge, not only exaggerated but despising proportion. I knew that his moral disposition was assumed to be weak, gluttonous of sensual excitement, querulous of severe judgment, fantastical in its tastes, and lackadaisical in its sentiments. He was all but universally believed to have been killed by a stupid, savage, article in a review, and to the compassion generated by his untoward fate he was held to owe a certain personal interest which his poetic reputation hardly justified.

So well had Blackwood's persuaded the predisposed of a generation to believe that "Johnny Keats" was an ignorant anarchist in literature and morals; so well had Shelley and others popularized the opposing myth of the crime of the Quarterly and the fading of the pale flower. Given these established misconceptions, the question of procedure was particularly important. There was no scarcity of biographical material, especially letters and unpublished reminiscence, but a too unrestrained use of them would offend Victorian propriety and would probably give a new lease of life to Blackwood's damaging accusation that Keats and his friends were not gentlemen. On the other hand, a carefully selective biography, with all the subject's most private thoughts and feelings suppressed or decently obscured by polite generalities, would fail both to satisfy the friendly and to win over the hostile. Milnes decided that in order to substitute a true picture for the false ones current he would have to produce much of the first-hand evidence in his possession, quoting letters at length, and introducing the trivialities of reminiscence, even at the risk of a breach of decorum. He eventually went further. The book, he determined, would be largely the work of Keats and his friends, a "compilation" rather than a biography, and he would "act simply as editor of the Life which was, as it were, already written." Or as he explained his function at the beginning of the memoir which was afterwards published in numerous editions of the poems (B31, etc.): "The Editor had little more to do than to arrange and connect the letters freely supplied to him by kinsmen and friends, and leave them to tell as sad, and, at the same time, as ennobling a tale of life as ever engaged the pen of poetic fiction."

Milnes' modesty may be commended but we need not believe that he had so little to do with the influential biography—or "compilation"—which appeared in 1848. To be sure, one does often get the impression that it is only an extensive collection of poems and letters, arranged chronologically, and loosely connected by the running comments of the editor-biographer. But to be distracted by the curious form may be to miss the good sense and shrewdness of the general design. A selection of the poems in order of composition is for the first time made to show Keats' extraordinary growth as an artist in the three or four years which separated the beginning and the end of his literary life. The

large group of letters not only throws much additional light on the poems, but (again for the first time) reveals an eager, intelligent, and subtle mind, richly stored with a new-found wealth of experience from life and from books, keenly aware of the problems of poetry, gaining much from the society of his friends but finding his own way toward early and splendid maturity as a man and an artist. The letters which Milnes published destroyed forever what remained of the Blackwood's legend of the fatuous bard of Cockaigne. They showed, to use George Keats' words, that "John was . . . as much like the Holy Ghost as [like] Johnny Keats."64 As for Shelley's legend, Milnes never missed a chance to illustrate Keats' courage, his good sense, his lack of concern, at least in 1818, about the campaign of vilification against him. In both cases novel truth was more readily acceptable because the reader was allowed to draw his own conclusions from a mass of plain evidence. The self-effacing editor was more persuasive than any biographer could be.

Less ingenuous, but mildly entertaining to the reader of a century later, is Milnes' apparent concern to suggest that if Keats was not quite a gentleman in the strict sense of the term he fell not far short, and his friends were eminently respectable people. Keats' maternal uncle who "had been an officer in Duncan's ship in the action off Camperdown," his parents' mere consideration of the possibility of sending their sons to Harrow, and his own early association with Mr. Felton Mathew, "a gentleman of high literary merit, now employed in the administration of the Poor Law," were all intended to shed some glory on the poet. Milnes' gracious patronage of the whole Keats circle was enough to guarantee its respectability. What a spacious sense of wealth and aristocratic leisure devoted to the arts is conveyed by the first sentence of the Preface: "It is now fifteen years ago that I met, at the villa of my distinguished friend Mr. Landor, on the beautiful hill-side of Fiesole, Mr. Charles Brown, a retired Russia-merchant, with whose name I was already familiar as the generous protector and devoted Friend of the Poet Keats." The "retired Russia-merchant" had actually returned unsuccessful and bankrupt from his adventure abroad at the age of twenty-four (several years before Keats knew

⁶⁴The Poetical Works and Other Writings (H1), IV, p. 404; in a letter of April 20, 1825.

him) and thereafter lived thriftily on a legacy from his brother.65 This occasional tendency to improve on the facts reappears in Milnes' later memoir in preface to the poems, where we are told that Keats was born "in the upper rank of the middle-class," and the livery-stable is never mentioned. The explanation of these polite obfuscations is that it never seemed more important for a man to be a gentleman, in the hereditary and economic sense. than in the mid-years of the nineteenth century when new wealth advanced many new and questionable candidates for that honour (Witness the anxieties of both Dickens and his characters on this score.) The decorum of the age also required the frequent suppression of names in the published letters and a very general reference to the love-affair. It is extraordinary, with all the information at his command, that Milnes did not know about Fanny Brawne, or rather that he believed that "the lady ... [who] inspired Keats with the passion that only ceased with his existence" was Reynolds' wealthy Anglo-Indian cousin, the Charmian with "a rich eastern look." Yet even this misconception, in a way, served Milnes' purpose: it must have been gratifying to be able to indicate that Keats' love was returned by the granddaughter and heiress of a nabob.

'The Life, Letters, and Literary Remains was widely reviewed, often at considerable length, and with few exceptions favourably. Milnes' social prestige, his array of evidence, his reasonableness, his elaborately courteous manner which did not fail him even when he was commenting on Keats' former detractors, all served to persuade, to gain goodwill, and to turn away wrath. Although Croker, Lockhart, and Wilson were still active, Blackwood's and the Quarterly ignored the book. In any event it was far too late to hope to rouse the old antagonism of the days of Gifford. Some traces of former political alignments in literary criticism may be observed in the comparative hostility of the conservative Gentleman's Magazine (R3) and the friendliness of the Athenaeum, the Edinburgh Review, and the Westminster Review (R2, 5, 6). Hereafter political feeling ceases to influence criticism of Keats; in fact, the time had come when that literary veteran, Leigh Hunt, late

65 Letters, p. xlix.

⁶⁶For a much longer list than I have included in Section R, see J. P. Anderson's bibliography at the end of Rossetti's *Keats* (O7).

of Horsemonger Lane Jail, for libelling his Prince, could be considered as a not impossible candidate for the office of Poet Laureate. His successful rival was one of the few who expressed a strong distaste for Milnes' work, in his angry lines To—, After Reading a Life and Letters. Tennyson's youthful delight in the newfound poetry of Keats is not open to question. His occasional and general commendations in later years ("there is something magic and of the innermost soul of poetry in almost everything he wrote") were sincere. But he was shocked in 1848, not so much by any revelations in the published letters of Keats' failure to conform to a strict Tennysonian ideal of reticence, but by the suggestion that a poet's private life should be exposed to throw light on his art. First it was Currie's Burns, then Milnes' Keats, and one day, if he were not careful, there might be a similar life of Tennyson.

For now the Poet cannot die Nor leave his music as of old, But round him ere he scarce be cold Begins the scandal and the cry: "Proclaim the faults he would not show: Break lock and seal: betray the trust: Keep nothing sacred: 't is but just The many-headed beast should know."

VI

The delay of twenty-seven years between the death of Keats and the publication of the first biography is often cited as an indication of popular neglect; it is not so often remarked that thirty-nine more years were to elapse before the second biography appeared, or rather the second and third, for Colvin's and Rossetti's were both published in 1887. Yet here there can be no question of neglect. By 1850 Keats was "among the English Poets"—one of the few greatest in the judgment of the young Pre-Raphaelites—though the height of his popular vogue was not to come until the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth. But in mid-Victorian times, there were already numerous signs of general esteem? For example, fifty editions or quasi-editions of the complete poems (B22-70) were called for in the thirty-nine

⁶⁷ Edmund Blunden, Leigh Hunt (London, 1930), pp. 305-6.

years between the first and second biography. In 1854 Keats first appeared in one of those extensively illustrated volumes designed for the Victorian parlour table, (B32). The next year an American company brought out a rival book "elegantly illustrated" (B37). At about the same time separate poems, usually illustrated, began to appear in book form to supply the demand for tasteful gifts and creditable literary furnishings for the same parlour table. Eve of St. Agnes, a Victorian favourite, was apparently the first poem of Keats to be so distinguished (D1). The lavish folio edition of Endymion, with steel engravings, published by Moxon in 1873 (D7) makes one speculate on what Croker—or Keats, for that matter-would have thought of the revolution in taste. The first translations, into French and Latin, also belong to this time (S1-3). One is reminded of Oscar Browning's story that in his day at Eton in the early eighteen-fifties one of the tutors. William Johnson, "offered a prize to any of his pupils who would learn ' 'Hyperion' by heart," and set them to translate Clymene's speech and, at another time, Isabella, into Latin.68 It was not until the late eighteen-seventies, however, that a Keats poem attained to the final and shabby glory of being published as a school-text with introduction, notes, and so forth (D9-11). It is significant that the first and only one for a great many years to win this academic distinction was Hyperion. Its classic theme was undoubtedly in its favour. At a time when the advocates of English studies were beginning to oppose the old right of the ancient classics to be the sole representatives of imaginative literature in the process of formal education, it was an advantage to put forward a poem that, to say the least, invited comparison and contrast with classic art. The principal work of editorial scholarship in this period was Harry Buxton Forman's admirable four-volume "Library Edition" of The Poetical Works and Other Writings (H1) which appeared in 1883, and prepared the way for the new biographies which were published four years later.

By 1887 they were overdue. If a reason need be sought for Milnes' long reign as the sole biographer (he did bring out a revised

⁶⁸Lucas, *The Colvins*, p. 326. This reminiscence is in a letter of January 1, 1918. In the account contributed to the *John Keats Memorial Volume* (P14) three years later, he said that the speech of Clymene was "not to be translated, but to be written about in our own language."

edition of his book half-way through the period, in 1867) we have only to remember that he had been the choice of Keats' friends. was their official spokesman with their delegated authority, and had the largest collection of manuscript material in his possession. No one, for many years, could be expected to rival him. But much additional information had been brought to light before his death in 1885. All of Haydon's and part of Clarke's reminiscences of Keats (N28-9, 31-2, 36-8, 40) appeared after 1848; many letters including those to Fanny Brawne and to Fanny Keats were discovered between the time of the first and the second biography; and Forman made a beginning on a variorum text. Several critical questions never considered in the Life, Letters, and Literary Remains had been raised. Besides, Keats had become a major influence, on Victorian poetry. I intend in the rest of this section to make; reference to divergent views on his language early in this period. his adoption by the Pre-Raphaelites with consequent effects on his reputation, and the development of Arnold's opinion until the famous and influential essay of 1880 was written. Finally, there will be a brief reference to Swinburne's estimate, published two vears later.

De Quincey's essay on Keats which first appeared in Tait's Edinburgh Magazine in 1846 and was reprinted in Essays on the Poets in 1853 (M51, Q6) was a reply to Gilfillan, who in his Gallery of Literary Portraits (Q1) had used Keats to illustrate some regrettable traits of men of genius. Both essays, it will be observed, were written before Milnes' biography appeared and under the influence of the early misconceptions. Of De Quincey's rejoinder it may be said that much of it is as tiresome and irrelevant to Keats as the remarks by Gilfillan; but the severe comments on the poet's language, especially the language of Endymion, are of some interest as marking the terminal point of one kind of censure. I have already referred to objections by the first reviewers that / Keats' language was "unnatural," extravagant, and obscure. It was a principal theme with both Croker and the reviewer for the British Critic in their ridicule of Endymion, but even friendly readers of the much finer Lamia volume discovered the same faults. De Quincey, on the other hand, made an extreme distinction; he found it hard to believe that Endymion and Hyperion could have been composed by the same man. "The very midsummer madness

of affectation, of false vapory sentiment, and of fantastic effeminacy, seemed to me combined in Keats' Endymion, when I first saw it near the close of 1821." But Hyperion, he said, "presents the majesty, the austere beauty, and the simplicity of Grecian temples enriched with Grecian sculpture," Perhaps thinking principally of Endymion, but specifically excluding no poem but Hyperion from his condemnation, De Quincey concluded with a tirade on Keats' for "the most shocking abuse of his mother-tongue."

But Keats was an Englishman; Keats had the honour to speak the language of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, Newton. The more awful was the obligation of his allegiance. And yet upon his mother tongue, upon this English language, has Keats trampled as with the hoofs of a buffalo. With its syntax, with its prosody, with its idiom, he has played such fantastic tricks as could only enter into the heart of a barbarian, and for which only the anarchy of chaos could furnish a forgiving audience. Verily it required the *Hyperion* to weigh against the deep treason of these unparalleled offences.

This, presumably, was De Quincey's judgment on the odes and sonnets of 1819, though he made no more specific allusions than I have indicated.) He thought well enough of his essay to reprint it more than once, after the publication of Milnes' biography. The reviewer of the latter volume for the Gentleman's Magazine (R3) shared De Quincey's distaste and displayed, as one would expect, a set of antiquated prejudices. Of the "Literary Remains" of Keats published in 1848 he remarked: "they have most of his faults, his exaggeration, his carelessness, his obsolete expressions, his inapplicable epithets, his disjointed numbers, his fanciful analogies, and his mythological subjects, which to be interesting, must call up an audience that have been departed from earth these two thousand years and more."

But the day when that kind of denunciation could be taken seriously was past. Clough's two-edged comment on Keats in 1853 may be used to mark the transition: Alexander Smith is called Ithe latest disciple of the school of Keats, who was indeed no well of English undefiled, though doubtless the fountain-head of a true poetic stream? Lowell, perhaps remembering Keats' remark, "I look upon fine Phrases like a Lover," said of him in

⁶⁰The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough (London, 1869), I, p. 360,

1854: "Keats rediscovered the delight and wonder that lay enchanted in the dictionary. . . . Keats had an instinct for fine words, which are in themselves pictures and ideas, and had more of the power of poetic expression than any modern English poet (B34, etc.). In the same year the Athenaeum (R7), in a spirited review of the first extensively illustrated volume of Keats' poems, took notice of the old "charges of obscurity and affectation" in language, but contended that such criticism derived from the general lack of acquaintance at the beginning of the nineteenth century with our older literature.

The almost total neglect at that period of Chaucer, Spenser, and nearly all the Elizabethan dramatists, excepting Shakespeare, was sufficient to account for the anomaly, and it was not until some diversion had been created in their favour by republication, the criticism of Hazlitt and others, and the vigorous "Dramatic Scenes" of Procter (Barry Cornwall) that any real affection for our early English poets began to be entertained. It is not surprising, therefore, that a poet who had regarded such writers with a noble emulation,—who had not only imported their diction into his verses, but had modulated the melody of his rhythm by their example,-should have failed to obtain for his writings the acceptance to which they were entitled. . . . Sir William Davenant remarks of Spenser, in the Preface to his "Gondibert," that "our language received at his hands many new grafts of old and withered words;" and it may be affirmed, with equal truth, of Keats, that he has rendered a similar service to the poetical diction , of our own times.

This view of Keats, as not the corrupter of poetic speech but rather, after Wordsworth, its great early nineteenth-century renovator, was to be a commonplace of mid-Victorian and late-Victorian criticism.

Meanwhile, new champions had appeared from another quarter. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was just coming into existence at the time of the publication of Milnes' biography, and the young painters who joined in that conspiracy against the reign of the British School and its idols seem to have considered an admiration for the poetry of Keats one of the signs of true artistic taste. As early as 1846, Holman Hunt was working on his picture of the escape of Porphyro and Madeleine which he believed was the first painted on a subject from that "still little-known poet." In

the same year-one finds him, in an argument with Millais, casually citing the speech of Oceanus in Hyperion as a statement of the progressive nature of art. In 1848, when Millais was converted to Pre-Raphaelite principles he in turn set to work with Hunt on a series of illustrations "of the magnificent poem of Isabella."70 Hunt mentions that before this time he had been only "on nodding terms" with Dante Gabriel Rossetti at the art schools; "but our common enthusiasm for Keats brought us into intimate relations."71 Rossetti, who had already done a drawing for La Belle Dame sans Merci, considered Keats the great artist of English poetry. Lady Burne-Jones reports that it was Rossetti who persuaded Morris "to give up architecture and take to painting, saying that if any man had poetry in him he should paint it, that the course of poetry had almost been run, but painting was still an unknown art in England, and that the next Keats ought to be a painter."72 The poems of Keats also seem to have been favourite travellingcompanions of the Brotherhood. We hear of Hunt and Rossetti, in 1848 after they had begun to share a painting-room, going "down the Thames to Greenwich (reading Monckton Milne's [sic] Life and Letters of Keats on the way), and thence to Blackheath to sketch."73 Again, when Morris, Burne-Jones, and Fulford went on a tour of France, the poems of Keats went with them-apparently their only book.74 In 1862 the Burne-Joneses and Ruskin spent a night at Fluelen, on Lake Lucerne, before crossing the St. Gotthard pass into Italy. Lady Burne-Jones long afterwards wrote: "I have a vision of us all three sitting together that evening, in a room with an exquisitely clean bare-boarded floor, and Mr. Ruskin reading Keats to us."76 Lest it should appear that members of the P.R.B. approved of only one English poet, we may take note of the "list of Immortals" drawn up by Rossetti to be subscribed to by the Brotherhood as "the whole of our Creed." The fiftyseven names were separated into five classes, from ordinary immortals up through a hierarchy of honour distinguished by from one

⁷⁰W. Holman Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood (London, 1905), I, pp. 79, 106, 87, 103-4.

⁷¹Ibid., I, pp. 106-7.

⁷⁹Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones (New York, 1906), I, p. 145.

⁷⁸Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism, I, p. 114.

⁷⁴ Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones, I, p. 112. 76 Ibid., I, p. 243.

to four stars. Beneath Jesus Christ who stood highest, and Shakespeare and "the Author of Job" who shared second place, came the two-star immortals including Homer, Dante, Chaucer, Leonardo, Shelley, Browning, and Keats. If Keats was not in the highest place, he was at least two grades above such unstarred worthies as Isaiah, Titian, Milton, and Lord Byron.⁷⁶

The Pre-Raphaelite admiration for Keats is not surprising. The romantic medievalism of La Belle Dame sans Merci, The Eve of St. Agnes, and, in their lesser degree, of Isabella and The Eve of St. Mark seemed enchanting; these poems led the imagination from Victorian England to the Pre-Raphaelite land of heart's desire. Indeed all the more mature poems could appeal, by reason of their rich colouring and pictorial suggestiveness. Keats' briefest phrases, | with their concentrated sensuous—usually visual—values, may often seem comparable to the minor observations of life and nature recorded in the sketch-book of some romantic painter: Porphyro "buttress'd from moonlight"; autumn's "vines that round the thatch-eaves run"; or the "barred clouds [which] bloom the softdying day." This kind of imagery is partly the result of Keats' devotion to Shakespeare, of his desire to gain the master's skill in making few words serve better than many. But it is also worth remembering that half a dozen of Keats' friends were painters (Haydon, Severn, Hazlitt, Hilton, Bewick, Landseer), that much of his time was spent in art galleries and painting-rooms, and that a poetically significant part of his total education in taste was acquired from the sister art. As early as April 1820, when Endymion was reviewed in Baldwin's London Magazine (K31), it was observed that there were passages in that poem which called to mind the art of Salvator Rosa, Claude, Poussin, and Titian. The influence of painting may also be traced in the great odes. So a group of painters might well see in Keats a kindred spirit. Rossetti was delighted to discover in 1848 that Keats, after looking over "Specimens of the first and second age of art in Italy" had told his brother that they were "Full of Romance and the most tender feeling-magnificence of draperies beyond any I ever saw not excepting Raphael's."77 Here was a gratifying proof that Keats was really a Pre-Raphaelite—thirty years before the Brotherhood.

⁷⁶Hunt, Pre-Raphaelitism, I, p. 159.

[&]quot;Letters, pp. 260-1; W. M. Rossetti, Dante Gabriel Rossetti . . . Letters with a Memoir (London, 1895), II, pp. 39-40.

The patronage of Keats by the Pre-Raphaelites did not prove to be entirely to the advantage of his reputation. No doubt their choice of subjects from his poems in the late forties and early fifties stimulated his growing vogue in artistic and avant-garde circles. Hunt's picture from The Eve of St. Agnes which was exhibited at the Academy in 1848 attracted a good deal of attention in an important year for Keats' fame. Then when Rossetti and Morris began to publish poetry of their own it was increasingly apparent that the work of Keats was a great influence upon them. This, in a way, added to his prestige. But there was always the possibility that no distinction would be made between the earlier poet and his disciples, and that he would be more condemned for their extravagances than credited for their admired qualities. There was a real danger that he would be set down by their detractors as the founder of the "Fleshly School of Poetry," and that the pseudo-moral reprobation which Lockhart and Wilson had pronounced against Keats, as well as against Hunt, would be revived and given new credence. It was perhaps fortunate that, before Buchanan's assault on Rossetti, sentimental and feminine readers of poetry had discovered and adopted Keats. They did his reputation the greatest harm for a long time, but early in the eighteen-seventies they must have helped to protect it from direct attack. To revive Wilson's charge of "pruriency" was to question the instinctive sympathies and the purity of taste of the Victorian lady. A female critic in 1870, a year and a half before Buchanan, writing of "The Daintiest of Poets-Keats," was still lamenting Adonais and cherishing the "pale flower": "Keats was constitutionally melancholy, physically frail, if in his early years he indicated by mere muscular power a promise of strong health." This lady could also become effusive about the "dainty pre-raphaelitism" of the sea-palace in Endymion and find in The Eve of St. Agnes "a lustre, a rarity, a saintly aroma."78 This last judgment, in contrast with Taylor's and Woodhouse's original fear that the poem was "unfit for ladies," makes one wonder about the relative prudishness of Georgian and Victorian middle-class standards.

But if Keats could be saved by feminine admiration and pity from indictment as being "fleshly," he could not evade another charge that by his example he had limited the range of poetry and tended to cut it off from life. The Quarterly Review in 1872,

⁷⁸Victoria Magazine, May 1870, pp. 59, 65-6.

in an article on recent volumes by Swinburne, Rossetti, and Morris (R14), took occasion to express regret that modern poets liked to retreat into medieval and classical times and, with few exceptions, preferred to ignore the current activities of Victorian life. This disregard of the present and this preference for a fanciful past. the reviewer attributed to the influence of Keats. "Keats was the first purely literary English poet who had appeared since Spenser, and, since Keats, English poetry has had an exclusively literary mark." Or again: "As far as we know, there is not in the poems of Keats a single allusion to passing events; there is certainly nothing to show that he was interested in them." These generalizations are certainly not literally true, but they may serve to indicate another division of critical opinion. For one group of Victorians the words quoted would seem disparaging, as they were intended to be; for another they would suggest the highest praise. Although the Pre-Raphaelites thought of art as the great civilizer of life, and Ruskin believed them inseparable, the practical result of the experience of Rossetti and Morris as both painters and poets was to deepen their belief in the ugliness of their own times, the absolute value of beauty created by the artist, and the need of the artist to be loyal to himself and his work in spite of the pressure of his contemporaries. These views were, of course, carried one stage further as the doctrine of "art for art's sake," and most boldly developed at a somewhat later date by Pater and Wilde. Pater thought of Keats as the great poetic forerunner of the aesthetic cult, just as Rossetti claimed that he was a Pre-Raphaelite before the Brotherhood. In the essay on Lamb, Pater wrote: "In the making of prose he realises the principle of art for its own sake, as completely as Keats in the making of verse." But there were many who shared the opinion of the reviewer in the Quarterly; they regretted the avoidance of the contemporary, suspected the cult of beauty when not dominated by the moral judgment, and disapproved of every tendency to separate art from life. Even De Quincey, in the essay already cited (M51, Q6), had contrasted Keats unfavourably with Shelley "shaken by the great moving realities of life," and advanced the argument that the former was merely a bookish poet: "Had there been no such thing as literature, Keats would have dwindled into a cipher." But an abler critic and controversialist than De Quincey, Matthew Arnold, was to

take up the question of the nature and significance of Keats' mind and art, and ultimately reach a more favourable verdict.

Arnold's earliest comment, in a letter of 1848-9 to Clough after reading the *Life*, *Letters*, and *Literary Remains*, is typical, and less than enthusiastic about Keats.

What harm he has done in English Poetry. As Browning is a man with a moderate gift passionately desiring movement and fulness, and obtaining but a confused multitudinousness, so Keats with a very high gift, is yet also consumed by this desire: and cannot produce the truly living and moving, as his conscience keeps telling him. They will not be patient neither understand that they must begin with an Idea of the world in order not to be prevailed over by the world's multitudinousness. . . . But what perplexity Keats, Tennyson et id genus omne must occasion to young writers of the δπλίτης sort: yes and those d—d Elizabethan poets generally. Those who cannot read G[ree]k sh[ou]ld read nothing but Milton and parts of Wordsworth: the state should see to it. . . . ⁷⁹

Arnold seems to have been particularly annoyed by Keats' doctrine of "negative capability," by his deliberate avoidance of a set of preconceived ideas which the poetic language will be used to express. In Keats' view, the poet's primarily intuitive perceptions of beauty have at least as much validity as, let us say, the geometrician's rationally expanded structure of concepts or Archdeacon Paley's arguments for the existence of God. As he remarked in a letter of November 22, 1817: "I am certain of nothing but of the holiness of the Heart's affections and the truth of Imagination-What imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth. . . . I am the more zealous in this affair, because I have never yet been able to perceive how any thing can be known for truth by consequitive reasoning—and yet it must be. Can it be that even the greatest Philosopher ever arrived at his goal without putting aside numerous objections." And then there follows the sentence which has been more often distorted in meaning than any other words of Keats and quoted airily, out of context, toward his condemnation: "However it may be, O for a Life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts!"—which merely means that he found poetry more delightful than geometry or formal logic, and the intuitive appre-

⁷⁹The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough (London and New York, 1932), p. 97.

hension of an order of beauty based on sense impressions more desirable (at least for him as a poet) than the procedures of the discursive reason. Milnes' biography contained this letter and also the one of October 27, 1818 which distinguished between the highest poetical character of Shakespearean receptiveness and "the wordsworthian or egotistical sublime" with its set of established ideas about man and the universe. One may observe that Arnold's objurgation of "those d - d Elizabethan poets" includes Shakespeare, who is not on his brief list of recommended English reading, presumably because of his unclassical luxuriance of language and because there may be some doubt as to whether he begins "with an Idea of the world." As for the approval of "parts of Wordsworth" for the opposite reasons, it can be said that Arnold's strict ideal of poetry by which in his more unsympathetic moods he measured the modern poets, including Keats, did not much differ from what Keats called "the wordsworthian or egotistical sublime," which he found particularly in The Excursion. Both views of poetry take notice of the problem of man's relationship to the universe and the unstable society of the age; both expect poetry to interpret life, console, and sustain, that is, take over a function of religion; and both posit the virtue of plainness of poetic language and aim at an occasional and restrained sublimity. Arnold's ground of sympathy with Wordsworth was so extensive that he does not seem to have noticed or been disturbed by the older poet's anti-intellectualism (shown, for example, in his views on formal education) and his belief in the ultimate value of mere feeling-both far more disruptive of classic standards than Keats' refusal as an artist to "begin with an Idea of the world." another letter to Clough, written in 1852, Arnold again advocates "great plainness of speech," and says: "Keats and Shelley were on a false track when they set themselves to reproduce the exuberance of expression, the charm, the richness of images, and the felicity of the Elizabethan poets."80 The latter, it will be observed, are no longer "d-d." In the same letter, in terms which anticipate the references to Isabella in the Preface to the Poems of the next year, he comments on the númerous beauties of "Keats passim," but regrets the kind of poetry that loses itself "in parts and episodes and ornamental work" and that fails to become "a complete magister vitae."

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 124.

This strict Arnoldian, and generally classical, judgment of Keats was modified in the eighteen-sixties in the essays on Maurice de Guérin and Heine, and in the lectures On the Study of Celtic Literature. In these writings Arnold showed himself much more appreciative than he had been of romantic art, and he even granted Keats a respectable second in the class-list of the poets. "I have said," he observes, "that poetry interprets in two ways; it interprets by expressing with magical felicity the physiognomy and movement of the outer world, and it interprets by expressing with inspired conviction, the ideas and laws of the inward world of man's moral and spiritual nature." De Guérin and Keats are found to be masters of the first-named but inferior art; in them "the faculty of naturalistic interpretation is overpoweringly predominant, the "natural magic perfect." The phrase "natural magic" is to appear frequently hereafter in Arnold as suggestive of the charm of romantic, and especially Celtic, poetry. In the lectures on Celtic literature, lines from Keats are quoted not merely to illustrate the English equivalent of the finest in Celtic "natural magic" but also the finest in Greek "radiance." But Keats failed to measure up to the complete Arnoldian requirement. In the essay on Heine. Keats was once more given a second-class standing in spite of his "admirable works" for the reason that (unlike Byron and Shelley, both lesser artists) he did not "apply modern ideas to life." It is curious that with all Arnold's goodwill toward Keats at this time he does not seem to have recognized that in Keats' own view, as shown unquestionably in the poems and letters, the exquisite rendering of nature, even with "natural magic," and all the poetry of the delighted senses were of secondary importance to what must follow, the rendering of the human situation, "the agonies, the strife Of human hearts." Keats' failure to come up to his own standard, which was at least as strict as Arnold's, was not owing to any deficiency of understanding, or of will, or, so far as we can judge, of innate capacity, but because fortune did not grant him even half of the ten years which in 1816, at the age of twenty-one, he had asked for the achievement of his dual ambition.

It is a great pity that Arnold's essay on Keats was not written in the eighteen-sixties or early eighteen-seventies instead of only a few months after the publication, at the end of 1878, of the letters to Fanny Brawne. Of course, Arnold was not the only person who disapproved of the revelation of feelings so private

or was distressed at the anguished intensity of them; Sidney Colvin, for example, consistently omitted that group of letters from the collections he published (F7). But Arnold was not only shocked that Harry Buxton Forman gave the letters to the world; he was angry at Keats for writing them. Indeed the first three or four paragraphs of the essay, which originally appeared in Ward's English Poets in 1880, were written by a man who was more than shocked and angered; he had turned vindictive and unjust. In the first paragraph, with all its advantages of initial impact, Arnold suggests that Keats was "under the fascination and sole dominion" of sense" (an outrageous charge or insinuation which even at his; most critical he had never made before); he quotes "O for a Life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts" out of context, allowing the unwary reader to believe that it supports the accusation; and he calls up Haydon's two dubious stories of cayenne pepper and claret and of a bout of drunkenness-both condemned as false by Charles Cowden Clarke on their appearance (N28-9), and not believed at that time by Arnold himself, who called Haydon for these very stories "a false butcher." 81 One observes with interest, these effects of anger and aroused prejudice upon the Disinterested Seeker of Truth, the Apostle of Sweetness and Light Then after quoting from a letter to Fanny Brawne, he half revives and half approves the old snobbery of Blackwood's about the "Cockneys": "It is the sort of love-letter of a surgeon's apprentice which one might hear read out in a breach of promise case, or in the Divorce Court." That sentence with its perfectly blended elements of social snobbery, moral reprobation, and dubious literary judgment delivered with complete assurance puts Arnold for the moment on the level of young Lockhart. The careful reader will observe that the suggestion of the Divorce Court is no more relevant to Keats than to Arnold, yet is subtly and deliberately damaging. All this makes one regret that Arnold, who had written so admirably about the need and advantage of choosing excellent models, did not also quote one of his own love-letters as a demonstration of how this confessedly difficult form of literature should be composed. Instead, we are given a page or two about "the sensuous man of a badly bred and badly trained sort" and those "admirers whose pawing and fondness does not good but harm," a passage where 81 Ibid., p. 139.

Arnold seems to be thinking as much of his "fleshly" contemporaries as of Keats.

He then proceeds coolly to reverse, but not repudiate, his angry and damning criticism. We are given George Keats' opinion that "John was the very soul of manliness and courage, and as much like the Holy Ghost as Johnny Keats," and we are gravely warned: "It is important to note this testimony, and to look well for what illustrates and confirms it"-as if Arnold had not himself ignored this and all other favourable testimony or evidence while developing his caricature of "Johnny Keats" in the previous paragraphs of the essay. We are given quotations from the letters to show that "Keats had flint and iron in him," and to illustrate "his clearsightedness, his lucidity." Warming to his subject, the recent vilifier of the surgeon's apprentice writes: "Keats was a great spirit, and counts for far more than many even of his admirers suppose, because this just and high perception [of the relation of beauty and truth made itself clear to him. Therefore a dignity and glory shed gleams over his life, and happiness, too, was not a stranger to it." Finally, there are the memorable pages where Arnold once more refers to the special qualities which he had recognized in Keats more than fifteen years earlier, the "natural magic," the "perfection of loveliness," which now seem in "the faculty of naturalistic interpretation" to make Keats the equal of Shakespeare. This splendid apotheosis of a once maligned manand poet would perhaps be more impressive if Arnold himself had not so recently been doing the maligning.

The two unreconciled and irreconcilable views of Keats remain in the essay. There is the heinous caricature of him as a "Cockney" sensualist, Arnold's own caricature after the example of Lockhart, and there is the glorious and noble figure that stands in the company of Shakespeare. We may take our choice; if we are not worried about consistency we may accept both. Yet it is a pity that Arnold wrote when he was so agitated by the letters to Fanny Brawne; otherwise he might have seen Keats steadily and seen him whole.

One does not expect calm and cautious appraisal from Swinburne; and in his article on Keats, first published in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1882 and reprinted in his *Miscellanies* (Q17), he is as flambovant and emphatic as usual. Swinburne had been

as outraged as Arnold on reading the letters to Fanny Brawne: "a manful kind of man or even a manly sort of boy, in his lovemaking or in his suffering, will not howl and snivel after such a lamentable fashion." The preoccupation with the quality of manliness throughout the essay is, no doubt, a sign of Swinburne's own sense of deficiency in that regard. The extremes of his judg ment may be illustrated by the famous sentence in which he takes exception to the order of the poems: "The Ode to a Nightingale, one of the final masterpieces of human work in all time and for all ages, is immediately preceded in all editions now current by some of the most vulgar and fulsome doggerel ever whimpered by a vapid the effeminate rhymster in the sickly stage of whelp-hood"—by which he apparently meant the early lines "Woman! when I behold thee flippant, vain." Swinburne found the perfection of art in half a dozen of Keats' poems and "a possibility of future excellence as a tragic or at least a romantic dramatist" in Otho the Great and King Stephen. He referred without cavil to Arnold's comparison of Keats and Shakespeare—though in the essay on Wordsworth and Byron included in the Miscellanies he was less respectful, rallying the critical advocate of high seriousness for awarding so high a place to "the most exclusively aesthetic and the most absolutely non-moral of all serious writers on record."

VII

Sidney Colvin's Keats in the "English Men of Letters" series and William Michael Rossetti's Life of John Keats in the "Great Writers" were both first published in 1887. Rossetti's curious scheme of entirely separating the biographical record, facts about the composition of the poems, comment on character, and criticism of the poems, made it inevitable that none of these sections would seem adequate. There is some justice, furthermore, in the objection made at the time, that he was not really sympathetic with his subject; Dante Gabriel was the Keats enthusiast in that family. As for Colvin's book, it is enough to say that even now, sixty years after its first appearance, when more than twenty other biographies have been published, including his own more extensive study, the monograph of 1887 is not yet entirely superseded. It was the result of detailed knowledge, enthusiasm, and judgment. Even

Arnold approved in general ("You have got the Life rightly written at last-its story and personages made clear"), though he could not find as much in Endymion as Colvin did and thought the value assigned to La Belle Dame sans Merci "simply amazing." 22 Colvin's book may be used to mark the end of one epoch in the story of Keats' growing fame and the beginning of a more triumphant one. In the thirty-nine years from the first biography there had been all the signs that Keats was, or soon would be, "the poet of 'the million,' " to use Severn's phrase. The numerous editions and critical essays on both sides of the Atlantic and, toward the end of the period, the publication of Forman's "Library Edition" of the complete writings indicated that Keats had been widely accepted as a modern classic. There was still required a biographical and critical study combining scholarship and literary perceptiveness to establish his claim. The writing of such a book was Colvin's first and very great contribution to Keats studies.

The thirty years between Colvin's first biography of Keats and his second and more extensive one, or the thirty-four years ending with the centenary celebrations of 1921, mark off the period of Keats' highest reputation as a poet. He had been a poet's poet, before, a divinity of the Pre-Raphaelite cult, but a writer who in spite of his large and growing general vogue was still often discussed in terms reminiscent of Hunt, Shelley, and Jeffrey—as though he needed to be explained, defended, or forgiven. After about 1887 the tone of comment became somewhat different, and the poet's public wider and more varied. It was no longer necessary to be fon the defensive when writing of Keats; and his admirers included poets, literary critics, artists and illustrators, schoolmasters and some of their students, and many thousands from the great mass of Victorian and Edwardian readers that still read (or at least bought) volumes of poetry as well as novels. Early in this period he began to be a subject of investigation by candidates for the Ph.D. in German universities: and before the end of the period special studies of similar nature had been published in France and America. About the turn of the century, professors began to communicate to their own periodicals their speculations on his sources and influence. Keats had become a classic, an artist to be admired and studied. On special occasions he could even be

patronized by kings, princes, and presidents, by ambassadors and oyal duchesses. A few of these signs of an established national ind international reputation as a great poet should now be considered rather more closely.

As an indication of the change of times and as a proof that it was no longer necessary to defend Keats against detraction, except of kind induced for a while by the letters to Fanny Brawne, we may begin with the case of the Quarterly. In 1872, as I have mentioned earlier, a reviewer of poems by Swinburne, Rossetti, and Morris expressed regret at the mainly "literary" character of Victorian poetry and traced the cause of the abandonment of interest in contemporary life and problems to the powerful and engaging example of Keats. His influence was to be regretted, in a way and vet to criticize him was to criticize nearly all the poets since his time. By 1888, when the Quarterly (R33) noticed the biographies by Colvin and Rossetti, even this general reservation was much diluted. The reviewer refers briefly and wistfully to Scott and Byron with their poetry of action, their "close touch with humanity," but notes that for almost half a century their influence had been slight. "The spirit of the age in which we live is inspired by Wordsworth and Keats; they, and not their admired contemporaries, directed the tendencies of the future." There follows a long, appreciative, and judicious essay on the life and work of Keats-for the most part an admirable performance, and, being in the Quarterly, a remarkable one. The slight distortion and the occasional recourse to special pleading are the result of the writer's anxiety to persuade us that Croker's review of seventy years earlier was not unjust and that Keats was not really injured by criticism. As for the writer's judgment of the poems, it can be represented by one sentence: "The quantity of Keats' best poetry is small, but in value it is priceless.") Finally, we may observe that the Quarterly reviewer ends his essay, and a famous and futile controversy, by subscribing without reservation to the memorable words of Milnes, that Keats was indeed the "Marcellus of the empire of English song."

More general indications of Keats' established reputation may be cited briefly. Fifty-three editions of the complete poems (B71-123) are listed in the Bibliography for the thirty-four years between 1887 and 1921, representing a far more frequent rate of appearance than in the previous period, especially when we subtract from the total of that earlier time such quasi-editions as those by Moxon which I have included in the list. Among the entries one finds those standard popular editions which have been reissued and reprinted frequently, and occasionally revised: the "World's Classics" (B95), the "Oxford Edition" (B105, 110), "Everyman's Library" (B108), and the "Globe Edition" (B111). Of a somewhat different order were H. B. Forman's more expensive and frequently revised one-volume text of the poems (B66, etc.), and Ernest de Sélincourt's annotated editions brought out by Methuen (B104, etc.). Fifty-five volumes of selections also appear on the list (C5-59); and, more significant of Keats' vogue as even a fashionable poet, twenty-seven instances of single poems published in book form. The latter include the notable, illustrated folio editions of Endymion which appeared in both Great Britain and the United States in 1888, and a handsome illustrated and decorated quarto of Isabella (D23-4). Section D also includes, it had better be confessed, less impressive tributes, for example, an unusually unpleasant-looking school text (D40) and a cheap and shoddy little volume of Lamia (D33) without even pedagogic use-Yet Keats was given his full share of fine paper and beautiful printing. In this period there were published Morris's Kelmscott Press edition of the poems (B79), and fine editions, each in two volumes, by the Ballantyne and the Florence Presses (B91, 120). Mention might also be made of the selection printed by the Daniel Press at Oxford in honour of the centenary of Keats' birth (C10), the Chiswick Press volume of the sonnets (C17), and a Cobden-Sanderson book (C53). These handsome volumes are in their very appearance mute testimony to the admiration of an age. Some other products of the period could be cited to illustrate the eccentricities of designers, typographers, and bibliophiles in their pursuit of beauty or novelty. This is the age when artistic books tend to wither at the head and grow correspondingly at the tail: information formerly found on the title-page and in the preface appears in a colophon at the end. In one book already mentioned (C53), a note of thanks to a friend who looked over the proof-sheets is included in the colophon; in another (D27), the artist in charge not only allows no title-page whatever but prints the stanzas of the poem, The Eve of St. Agnes, as if they were prose paragraphs. If the scope of this survey were greater, an account might be given of the changing fashions in the illustration of Keats—probably the worst period being the time of his greatest vogue. Among bibliographical novelties and pre-determined rarities could be included: miniature volumes (e.g., C43-4, D42); unique copies of the letters to Fanny Brawne, on paper of different colours (F4); and T. J. Wise's very limited edition of the Ode to a Nightingale, printed for private distribution only (D13), though this volume appeared a little before the beginning of the period under discussion. Among signs of Keats' established reputation can also be cited the extensive translations of the poems into Latin, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch (S4-23)—not to mention the more remote languages that were used to offer homage on the occasion of the centenary of his death.

The amount of writing about Keats during the period between 1887 and 1921 was very large, but it need not be examined here in any detail because writers were practically unanimous in their admiration for his actual achievement and potential pre-eminence. The mass of similar comment, rather than the individual statement, is the trustworthy sign of his established reputation. As I have indicated in the Preface, a great number of articles of this period which might have been included in the Bibliography were left out. Yet what is listed should represent fairly well the main kinds of writing. If the whole period is divided in half, at 1903, and the literature on the subject before and after is compared, at least one general tendency will be apparent: in this century there has flourished the scholarly and academic article on Keats. In late Victorian times essays on him were for the most part appreciative and belletristic. The aim was to define in graceful and general terms his special qualities. The latter part of Arnold's essay might have served as an ideal model. The list of appreciative writers on Keats would include Edmund Gosse (Q27, R41), Arthur Symons (R55), Alice Meynell (C28-9), Walter Raleigh (B89), George Woodberry (Q21), Laurence Binyon (B102), and Robert Bridges (09, B84). Bridges' essay which was first printed in 1895 is still, it seems to me, the best of the lot; it includes extensive comment on separate poems, and does not fail to notice their deficiencies. The most quoted passage in the essay calls to mind Arnold's final judgment on Keats; it is the passage in which

Bridges describes "the highest gift of all in poetry, that which sets poetry above the other arts: I mean the power of concentrating all the far-reaching resources of language on one point, so that a single and apparently effortless expression rejoices the aesthetic imagination at the moment when it is most expectant and exacting, and at the same time astonishes the intellect with a new aspect of truth. This is only found in the greatest poets, and is rare in them; and it is no doubt for the possession of this power that Keats has been often likened to Shakespeare, and very justly, for Shakespeare is of all poets the greatest master of it..."

But writers of essays were not quite unanimous in their praise. Adverse criticism on the grounds held by Arnold and by earlier writers was still to be heard, though more faintly. Coventry Patmore in a review (Q20) of Colvin's biography denied that Keats was like Shakespeare in any important sense and contrasted them as examples of what he called the feminine (or sensuous) and the masculine (or intellectual) temperaments—a judgment with which Gerard Manley Hopkins took issue and which led to a discussion in several letters.88 William Watson in his review. "Keats and Mr. Colvin" (Q24), showed that he, like Arnold in 1880, found the poems and letters sometimes indicative of the illbred "Cockney," and was angered by the failure of both editors and biographers to suppress offending passages. W. J. Courthope should also be mentioned as a spokesman for the unconverted minority. In his unfavourable review (R31) of Colvin's biography he represents Keats as the admired poet of a degenerate age: "It is, doubtless, the vivid intensity with which he has reflected certain tendencies of modern civilization—its softness, its luxury, its ennui, its fastidious distaste for what is trite and traditional—that has enabled him to influence so powerfully many of the most refined intellects of the age." Courthope did not change his opinion: as late as 1910, in the sixth volume of A History of English Poetry, the old view of Keats as the ill-bred "Cockney," intensely alive to the pleasures of sense but dead to those of the intellect, coloured. his chapter on that poet.84 But neither Courthope's writing nor

⁸⁸ Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins (C. C. Abbott ed., Oxford University Press, 1938), pp. 233-9.

⁸⁴It coloured Courthope's criticism, but he was, of course, glad to admit that Keats excelled in a few poems of a limited range, especially in poems where the

the derogatory passage at the beginning of Arnold's widely read essay could keep the old libel (or quarter-truth) about Keats' "Cockney" vulgarity alive. After 1891 the letters were easily available in Colvin's edition (F7), and they were enough to show the truth.

In the common view, however, before the end of the century, Keats was unquestionably one of the major English poets, one of the modern classics. And as such he had become increasingly a subject for scholarly and academic appraisal. Mrs. Owen's study (O4), mainly of the Endymion; Forman's editorial labours, including the collection of that mass of supplementary material which appeared in the "Library Edition" (H1, 1b); and then Colvin's biography: all pointed and prepared the way. Yet after Colvin new letters and manuscripts were soon brought to light (R38, 40, 47, 59); Sharp's life of Severn (V9) included a great deal of hitherto unpublished information about the Keats circle; and in 1905 De Sélincourt announced his important discoveries among the Crewe (Milnes) papers (R63), and in the same year published an excellent facsimile of the autograph manuscript of Hyperion and the text of a Woodhouse transcript of The Fall of Hyperion: A Dream. Meanwhile Continental students were beginning to take rather more notice of Keats. In Section P: Special Studies, nine out of the first ten books and pamphlets there listed, between 1895 and 1910, originated on the Continent, mostly as German doctoral theses, and the tenth study (P9) was presented for the doctorate at Columbia. The best biography of Keats between

pictorial quality of his imagination could have full scope. Courthope's real injustice is that he fails to allow for the progressive and dynamic quality of Keats' art and speculations. This is a not uncommon error. Keats' extraordinarily rapid artistic development is generally admitted and admired, but there is always the danger that critics will not recognize the practical demands on them because of this development. It is unjust to Keats and futile as comment to cite some vulgarism or absurdity in *Endymion* as generally representative of his thought and poetry: it may represent his taste, or some aspect of his thought and poetry at the time when it was written, but not six months earlier or six months later. Likewise, caution has to be exercised in quoting from Keats' letters. Writers with a set of literary opinions hardly altered in twenty years will find it difficult (with the best will in the world) to be just to a man whose views and capacities were changing so rapidly, who thought and discovered as much about his art in three years as so great a poet as Wordsworth did in his best thirty.

Colvin's first in 1887 and his second thirty years later was by a Frenchman, Lucien Wolff (O13), and it had been preceded by a notable biography in German (O10). Early in the century, academic or semi-academic periodicals began to become more numerous. and here with increasing frequency one finds articles on such questions as Keats' influence on some later poet, or the literary sources of a poem. Articles in 1907 in the Sewanee Review and Modern Philology (R68-9) on Keats' influence on the early poetry of Tennyson and concerning the Filocolo of Boccaccio as a source for The Eve of St. Agnes are early representatives of a large class of writings. More and more, as a glance at Section R would confirm, the articles on Keats (and no doubt on any poet not strictly contemporary) were to be found mainly in such periodicals as the Bookman, TLS, PMLA, Modern Language Notes-or Englische Studien and Studi di Filologia Moderna-rather than in the periodicals of more extensive range and popular interest, such as Nineteenth Century, the Fortnightly Review, and McClure's Magazine, which had published articles on Keats in the nineties. The reasons for this phenomenon were not peculiar to one poet. increase in the number of readers, with a consequent decline in the proportion caring for poetry or literary criticism; the need and the advantage for a periodical to find a special, even though limited, group of subscribers; the development of English studies in the universities; the establishment in the United States of the Ph.D. as the common requirement for the university and college teacher and of the academic article as one measure of his fitness for advancement: all tended to confine the criticism and study of non-contemporary poetry to journals for persons especially interested in the subject—often to rigidly academic journals. If Keats by 1920 seemed to be a poet for young students and their teachers, his fortune was shared by all other poets who had become classics.

That he had not at the same time ceased to mean something to a non-academic public is indicated by several events between the centenary of his birth in 1895 and that of his death in 1921. The year before the earlier date a memorial monument had been placed by American admirers in the Hampstead parish church (not much visited, one may imagine, by the commemorated in his Hampstead years), and Edmund Gosse delivered an address at the unveiling (Q27, R41). The year 1895 saw the publication of

a rather small number of centenary articles, of which I have listed four by American writers (R42-4). Much more remarkable was the interest aroused about a dozen years later by the scheme to purchase, for a Keats-Shelley memorial and museum, the house in the Piazza di Spagna in Rome where Keats died. This project was initiated by Americans, but enthusiastically taken up by British and other admirers of Keats and Shelley-H. Nelson Gay and Sir Rennell Rodd, of the American and British embassies in Rome, taking a leading part. The story of the project and its success may be found in several articles included in the Bibliography (e.g. R66, 79, W7, 11) but most completely in the Bulletin of the Keats-Shelley Memorial, 1910-13 (X5). A "Literary and Musical Matinée" in aid of the scheme was held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York on February 14, 1907. Letters of commendation and approval were received from three notable personages but improbable Keatsians: President Theodore Roosevelt, King Edward VII, and King Victor Emmanuel III. Among those who gave readings was Mark Twain, who obliged with To a Skylark and "Ah, did you once see Shelley plain"; it was announced that "During the intermission souvenir programmes would be sold by Miss Ellen Terry"; and a committee to raise additional funds was headed by Mr. and Mrs. Grover Cleveland. When the house in the Piazza di Spagna was officially opened on April 3, 1909, the King of Italy was present at the ceremonies. Three years later, toward the end of June 1912, two special matinées were presented in the Haymarket Theatre, London, for the benefit of the Keats-Shelley House. The programme included Arnold Bax's "Prelude to Adonais," scenes from the Cenci, a "Dramatic Scena" from La Belle Dame sans Merci ("recited by Mr. Frederick Austin as the Knight, with Mr. Frederick Ranalon as a Woodman"), and readings from Keats by Ellen Terry and J. Forbes-Robertson. The list of patrons began with H.R.H. Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, the Italian Ambassador, the American Ambassador, the British Ambassador at Rome, the Lord Chancellor, the Prime Minister, the Duchesses of Somerset, Marlborough, Rutland, Sutherland, and so on down through the order of precedence to such plebeian Keatsians (or Shelleyans) as Andrew Carnegie and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Again one may try to imagine what Lockhart would have thought of these revenges of time—Keats and Shelley, the "Cockney" vulgarian and the seditious atheist, honoured by the patronage of rank, fashion, and wealth. Or what would Keats have made of it, for that matter? One remembers his distaste at the thought of becoming "a pet lamb in a sentimental farce." The element of unintentional farce may, no doubt, be found in the fashionable celebrations of June 1912; and sentimentality is a predominant feature of the remarkable, and now rather rare, Bookman Memorial Souvenir (R79), issued by the London Bookman that month as a supplement in honour of Keats and Shelley and as advance publicity for the Haymarket matinées. For persons interested in the history of Keats' reputation that volume marks the height of his fashionable and non-literary reputation. It also indicates how long the sentimental, Shelleyan, "pale flower" view of "poor dear Keats" persisted among people who were predisposed by temperament to believe in it.

The period under discussion in this section ends with the centenary of the poet's death in 1921. The signs of esteem in the literary world were so many and so varied on that occasion, that this date may be considered the high-water mark in the rise of -Keats' reputation. The celebration of the centenary was happily preceded by the acquisition of another house for a memorial. Wentworth Place, Hampstead, where Keats lived most of the time from December 1818 to August 1820 (including the marvellous April-May 1819), a two-family house which had also been occupied at times by the Dilkes, Charles Brown, and Mrs. Brawne and her children, was purchased in 1920 (this time without the assistance and patronage of kings, presidents, and duchesses) to prevent its demolition by a speculative builder; and it was then presented to the borough of Hampstead to be maintained as a Keats library and museum. In February 1921 the centenary was marked by the publication of appreciative articles in the journals of Great Britain, the United States, France, and Italy (R90-8). The British Academy's Warton Lecture for 1921 was devoted to Keats and was delivered on the anniversary of his death (O19, P14). The poet's death was also commemorated in Jerusalem and Toronto. and in uncounted cities between and beyond.85 The most remarkable evidence, however, of the extent of that fame concerning

88For Sir Herbert Samuel's address at the celebrations in Jerusalem, see R101; I have not entered the programme of the Toronto festivities in my list.

which Keats had despaired is to be found in The John Keats Memorial Volume, published by the Keats House Committee, Hampstead, on February 23, 1921 (P14). It contains an interesting collection of essays and numerous honorific poems in English; but the most astonishing, though not the most valuable, part of the volume is made up of the contributions in foreign languages. There are essays and appreciative notes or poems in French, Italian, Spanish, Czech, Danish, Swedish (and contributions in English from Holland, Germany, and Yugoslavia), and in Bengali, Sanskrit, Maithili, Gugarati, Persian, Arabic, and Hindi. It should also be noted, as the editors were careful to point out, that "some important Singhalese and Parsee contributions arrived unfortunately too late for insertion in the volume." As a matter of fact, not many months elapsed between the inception of the scheme of publishing such a book and the last possible date for receiving contributions if the volume was to be out by the centenary day. All in all, The John Keats Memorial Volume was an extraordinary indication of the extent of the literary world's regard after a century.

VIII

The period since 1921 has seen no event in the history of Keats' reputation as remarkable as the celebration of the centenary, but it has been the time of the most varied and impressive scholarly activity. To be sure, many notable volumes and studies of continuing importance appeared before 1921, of which one of the latest was Colvin's more extensive biography, John Keats, His Life and Poetry, His Friends, Critics, and After-Fame (O16), which was begun after the author's retirement from the staff of the British Museum and first published in 1917. In my opinion, that is still the best critical biography of Keats, not superseded by Amy Lowell's longer work (O22), though it must often be supplemented by reference to other books, for example, C. L. Finney's The Evolution of Keats's Poetry (O35) with its wealth of relevant, scholarly information. This has also been the period when volumes of special studies have been most numerous: more than half the works listed in Section P under that heading were published after 1921. In this group belongs M. R. Ridley's Keats' Craftsmanship (P28), a notable attempt to follow the process of composition and

revision in the major poems, a quest which was most likely to prove rewarding in the case of Keats because of the artistically. revealing nature of his letters and the care with which his admiring friends preserved autographs and transcripts of the poems. Mention should also be made, even in so cursory a survey as this, of W. J. Bate's Stylistic Development of Keats (P39) and of the two volumes on the poet's influence or reputation by George Ford and Hyder Rollins (P36, 40) to which I have made reference at several points in this essay. [Probably the most noteworthy of the special studies, and certainly the one which for a long time caused the most discussion and roused the most antagonism, is Middleton Murry's Keats and Shakespeare. Many readers were annoved by the esoteric quality of the literary comment and the author's devotional attitude toward these two newly canonized saints of a private literary-religious faith. Yet Mr. Murry at least took seriously Keats' remarks in the letters about the artist and his work and made a sympathetic attempt to relate and interpret them; and it must be admitted that Keats, enthusiastically speculative yet without a traditional philosophic and critical vocabulary, can seem remarkably esoterid himself on occasion. Volumes of biography and criticism or of special studies have also appeared in half a dozen foreign languages since the centenary: French (O26, 29), Italian (O20, 39), Dutch (P19), German (P24, 26, 31), Swedish (O34), and Japanese (O36). Among essays in Sections Q and R one finds writings in French, German, Italian, and Norwegian-and no doubt there have been other foreign works of importance which I have overlooked. As for the essays and notes in English in the same sections, one observes the frequent occurrence of several types: the paper devoted to sources—personal, literary, or intellectual; the essay on some part of the poet's later influence; the appreciative essay; the exposition or "reading" of a poem; the identification and interpretation of allegory; the report on newly discovered manuscripts or early comment; and the corrective note addressed to some strangely erring editor of poems or letters and his too-trusting readers. The mere listing of these types or a glance at the nearly two hundred items after 1921 in Section R will emphasize the essentially academic quality of most of the writing about Keats in our time. This, in its way, is merely another sign that he is "among the English poets." Analogous

indication may be found in three notable works of editorial scholar-ship published in the thirties: Maurice Buxton Forman's editions of the letters (E10, 11), H. W. Garrod's variorum text of the poems (B134), and the handsome and costly "Hampstead Edition" of the complete works, in eight volumes, edited by Forman and published by Scribner's (H9).

In conclusion, it may be said that Keats has apparently come through the poetic and critical revolutions of the last thirty-odd years without damage to his status as a major poet. His reputation, which was established in Victorian times, has survived first the anti-Victorian and then the anti-romantic reactions. Though his direct influence upon new poetry since about 1920 has been less than at any time in the previous ninety years, he does not yet seem to be in any danger of being undervalued, and there has been no sign of the revival of old antagonism which last appeared in the comments of Courthope. Poets as diverse as John Masefield, Amy Lowell, and T. S. Eliot have generally agreed about Keats' eminence. Critics as different in their standards and methods of examination as A. C. Bradley, Middleton Murry, Lytton Strachey, T. S. Eliot, F. R. Leavis, Allen Tate, and Cleanth Brooks have all written favourably of him since the centenary.

Mr. Eliot's name appears in both lists, but it would be misleading to suggest that the principal anti-romantic has given his special approval of Keats, as he has, for example, of Kipling. Concerning the chapter on Shelley and Keats in The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism it can at least be said that Keats fares, much better than Shelley, whom Mr. Eliot censures as a wrongheaded adolescent who may still beguile unthinking youth—as he once beguiled the critic in his salad days. Very little is said in that chapter about Keats' poetry, but a liking for it is not reprobated as one of the marks of spiritual immaturity. Mr. Eliot tells us that he is "not happy about Hyperion" and considers the Ode to Psyche the best of the odes. But his real enthusiasm is apparently for the letters and the artistic perceptiveness which they reveal: "There is hardly one statement of Keats about poetry, which, when considered carefully and with due allowance for the difficulties of communication, will not be found to be true; and what is more, true for greater and more mature poetry than anything that Keats ever wrote." This is high praise, though not for

the poet as poet.

The exponents of the "New Criticism" of the thirties and forties, on the other hand, have seen no reason to disregard the poems. On the contrary, Kenneth Burke, Cleanth Brooks, and Allen Tate—to mention three critics who have written at some length about Keats within the last five years (R263, 279, 289)—would probably agree at least in this: that a great poem is a selfsufficient work of art, capable of being appreciated without reference to the poet's life, times, and body of ideas; and that a few of Keats' poems are great in this sense. Mr. Tate, for example, declares that the Ode to a Nightingale" is by any standard one of the great poems of the world," and at an earlier point in the same essay, written for the one-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the poet's birth, remarks that in The Eve of St. Agnes, Lamia, and the odes "the influences are so well assimilated that only the most trivial academic mind could suppose Keats's relation to the 'history of ideas' to have more than the value of a few monographs. In this I take it 'he is with Shakespeare.'" In the best poems of great poets, we are to understand, the ideas have been so completely assimilated that they are no longer to be identified as such; it is not surprising that Mr. Burke, Mr. Brooks, and Mr. Tate (and Mr. Murry before them), when they consider the Ode on a Grecian Urn are preoccupied with the final statement about beauty and truth—not to explain it intellectually, but to determine whether there can be any aesthetic justification for its inclusion' in the poem in what may appear to be unassimilated ideational form. This is no place to consider to what extent the "New Criticism" is a revival of "art for art's sake"; it need only be observed that its practitioner's give almost unqualified praise to a few of Keats' poems. If he is no longer a poets' poet as he was for almost a century, and may be again, he still seems to be very much a critics' poet, the master of an art which each new generation of readers will appreciate in its own way.

Bibliography and Reference Guide

A. The Three Original Volumes and Replicas of Them

1. Poems, / by / John Keats. / "What more felicity can fall to creature, / "Than to enjoy delight with liberty." / fate of the butterfly.—Spenser. / [Vignette, portrait of Spenser] / London: / Printed for / C. & J. Ollier, 3, Welbeck Street, / Cavendish Square. / 1817.

Collation: foolscap octavo; printed and signed by half-sheets; [viii], [122] pp.; signatures [A] to Q (J being discarded, as usual, for signature in this and the two later volumes): sixteen half-sheets of four leaves each, followed by one unsigned leaf; consisting of: pp. [i-ii], blank; p. [iii], half-title: "Poems"; p. [iv]: "Printed by C. Richards, / No. 18, Warwick Street, Golden Square, London"; p. [v], title-page, as above, with reverse blank; p. [vii], "Dedication" (a sonnet, To Leigh Hunt, Esq.); p. [viii], a note: "[The Short Pieces in the middle of the Book, as / well as some of the Sonnets, were written at an / earlier period than the rest of the Poems.]"; pp. [1] - 49, "Poems," with headlines the same, recto and verso; p. [50], blank; p. [51], fly-title: "Epistles," and a quotation from William Browne; p. [52], blank; pp. [53] - 75, "Epistles," with headlines the same, recto and verso; p. [76], blank; p. [77], fly-title: "Sonnets"; p. [78], blank; pp. [79] - 95, "Sonnets," with headlines the same, recto and verso; p. [96], blank; p. [97], fly-title: "Sleep and Poetry," and a quotation from Chaucer; p. [98], blank; pp. [99] - 121, Sleep and Poetry, with headlines the same, recto and verso; p. 121, at the foot of the page: "C. Richards, Printer, 18, Warwick-street, Golden-square, London"; p. [122], blank. Untrimmed leaves measure $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

This volume was published about the beginning of March 1817, bound in drab-grey paper boards with a white paper spine-label, reading: "Keats's Poems. / Price 6s." T. J. Wise (Catalogue of the Ashley Library, III, p. 9) notes that in all surviving copies in original boards the title-page is a cancel-leaf, and conjectures that the discarded title-page was without the portrait of Spenser.

2. Endymion: / A Poetic Romance. / By John Keats. / "The Stretched Metre of an Antique Song." / London: / Printed for Taylor and Hessey, / 93, Fleet Street. / 1818.

Collation: demy octavo; [xii], [208] pp.; signatures [A] to O, the first gathering of six leaves only, the other thirteen of eight; consisting of: p. [i], fly-title: "Endymion: / A Romance"; p. [ii], at the foot of the page: "Printed by T. Miller, Noble street, Cheapside"; p. [iii], title-page, as above, with reverse blank; p. [v], Dedication: "Inscribed / To The Memory / Of / Thomas Chatterton"; p. [vi], blank; p. [vii] - ix, Preface; p. [x], blank; p. [xi]: "Erratum. / Page 108, line 4 from the bottom, for "her" read "his" "; p. [xii], blank; p. [1], fly-title of Book I, with reverse blank; pp. [3] - 49, Endymion, Book I; p. [50], blank; p. [51], fly-title of Book II, with reverse blank; pp. [53] - 101, Endymion, Book II; p. [102], blank; p. [103], fly-title of Book III, with reverse blank; pp. [105] - 155, Endymion, Book III; p. [156], blank; p. [157], flytitle of Book IV, with reverse blank; pp. [159] - 207, Endymion, Book IV; p. 207: "The End. / T. Miller, Printer, Noble Street, Cheapside"; p. [208], blank. There are headlines: "Endymion" (recto and verso), and side-headings (on the inside line): "Book I" letc.]. The lines of each book are numbered by tens (lines divided between the end of one paragraph and the beginning of the next counting as two). Untrimmed leaves measure $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

The volume was published toward the end of April 1818, bound in drab-grey paper boards with a white paper spine-label reading: "Endymion / A / Poetic / Romance / Price 9s."

The above is a description of the earliest issue. In a letter to Taylor, written April 24, postmarked April 27 (*Letters*, pp. 133-6), Keats called his publisher's attention to additional *errata*. A slip was attached to p. [xi], noting five in all.

At a later stage, the outer double-leaf of the first gathering (pp. [i], [ii], [xii]) was cancelled and, in place of the above, there appears on p. [ii]: "T. Miller, Printer, Noble street, Cheapside"; and the five *errata* are printed on p. [xi].

Two unnumbered and unsigned leaves, dated May 1, 1818, listing "Books Just Published / By / Taylor and Hessey" are sometimes found at the end of the volume.

J. LAMIA, / ISABELLA, / THE EVE OF ST. AGNES, / AND / OTHER POEMS. / BY JOHN KEATS, / AUTHOR OF ENDYMION. / LONDON: / PRINTED FOR TAYLOR AND HESSEY, / FLEET-STREET. / 1820.

Collation: duodecimo; [viii], [200] pp.; signatures [A] to K, the first and last gatherings having four leaves each; consisting of: p. [i], fly-title: "Lamia, Isabella, / &c."; p. [ii], near the bottom: "London: / Printed by Thomas Davison, Whitefriars"; p. [iii], title-page. as above, with reverse blank; p. [v], "Advertisement," with reverse blank; p. [vii], "Conteats," with reverse blank; p. [1], fly-title: "Lamia," with reverse blank; pp. [3] - 46, Lamia, followed by quotation from Burton; p. [47], fly-title: "Isabella; / or, / The Pot of Basil. / A Story from Boccaccio"; p. [48], blank; pp. [49] - 80, Isabella; p. [81], fly-title: "The / Eve of St. Agnes"; p. [82], blank; pp. [83] - 104, The Eve of St. Agnes; p. [105], fly-title: "Poems," with reverse blank; pp. [107] - 142, "Poems"; p. [143], fly-title: "Hyperion. / A Fragment"; p. [144], blank; pp. [145] - 199, Hyperion; p. [200], imprint: "London: / Printed by Thomas Davison, Whitefriars." There are the following headlines: "Lamia," "Isabella," "Eve of St. Agnes," "Poems," and "Hyperion," and side-headings on the inner side of the page for part or book over the first and last poems. Untrimmed leaves measure $7 \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches. In some copies four unnumbered and unsigned leaves are bound in at the end advertising: "Books Just Published by / Taylor & Hessey, / 93, Fleet Street."

The volume was published about the first of July 1820, bound in drab-grey paper boards with a white paper spine-label reading: "Lamia, / Isabella, Ec. / 7s. 6d."

4. Endymion, A Poetic Romance, by John Keats / Printed from the Original Edition of 1818

Colophon: Here Ends Endymion, By John Keats. The / Text is That of the First Edition of 1818. / One Hundred and Sixty Copies Have Been / Printed, with Title Pages and Initials By / H. M. O'Kane. Printed and Sold by Clarke / Conwell at the Elston Press, Pelham Road, / New Rochelle, New York. Finished this / May-Day, MDCCCCII.

- 5. Keats / Poems Published in 1820 / Edited with Introduction and / Notes by / M. Robertson / Oxford / At the Clarendon Press / 1909
- xxiv, 256. A line-for-line reprint, with a few mistakes corrected and line-numbers added.
- 6. Keats / Poems Published in 1820 / London / Henry Frowde / 1909
- 199 pp. A line-for-line reprint, with one misprint corrected and line-numbers added.
- 7. Keats / Poems Published in 1820 / London / Humphrey Milford / 1920
- 199 pp. A line-for-line reprint, with one misprint corrected and line-numbers added. Apparently the same as the preceding but for the title-page. This volume also appears with the date 1922.
- 8. Endymion / A Poetic Romance / By John Keats / Type-facsimile of the First Edition / with Introduction / and Notes / By / H. Clement Notcutt / Professor of English / In the University of Stellenbosch / South Africa / Oxford University Press / London: Humphrey Milford / 1927
- lxi, 242. "The paper, the type, and the covers are a close reproduction of the original."
- 9. The Noel Douglas Replicas / John Keats Poems (1817) / . . . / The copy here reproduced is that / in the British Museum / Noel Douglas / 38 Great Ormond Street / London / W.C. / 1
- 1927; 121. Besides the trade edition, there were one hundred copies printed on rag paper and bound in vellum. Published also by Payson and Clarke, New York. This replica is of an imperfect copy. See TLS, June 23, 1927, p. 440.
- 10. THE NOEL DOUGLAS REPLICAS / JOHN KEATS. POEMS 1820 / ... / NOEL DOUGLAS / 38 GREAT ORMOND STREET / LONDON / WC / 1
- 1927; 199. Besides the trade edition, there were one hundred copies printed on rag paper and bound in vellum. Published also

by Payson and Clarke, New York (1927), and by Columbia University for the Facsimile Text Society (1928).

11. Famous Editions of / English Poets / By / John O. Beaty / and / John W. Bowyer / Richard R. Smith, Inc. / New York / 1931

xxi, 1312.

Pp. 787-874. Lamia, etc.

B. Collected Poems

- 1. The / Poetical Works / of / Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats. / Complete in one Volume. / [Device] / Paris / Published by A. and W. Galignani / No. 18, Rue Vivienne / 1829. xi, 225, xi, 275, vii, 75 (double columns); front. (ports.) engraved by Wedgwood; 5.5 × 9. First collected edition, consisting of the three original volumes plus "In a drear-nighted December" and the sonnets The Human Seasons, On a Picture of Leander, and To Ailsa Rock. Brief memoir of Keats apparently derived from Leigh Hunt's Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries (1828).
- 2. The / Poetical Works / of / Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats, / Complete in one Volume. / Stereotyped by J. Howe. / Philadelphia: / 1831.
- x, 225, xi, 275, vii, 75 (double columns); front. (ports.) engraved by Ellis; 5.5 × 8.8. There is also a second numbering at the bottom of the page: [1] [236], [237] [524], [525] 607. First American edition, a page-for-page and (with few exceptions) line-for-line reprint of the Galignani text. The Ellis frontispiece is a careful copy of the one by Wedgwood. The sixteen odd variants listed below of the American-Galignani edition seem all to be derived from the Howe plates.
- 3. The same as the preceding, but with the address: John Grigg—No. 9. North Fourth Street.
- 4. The same as B2, but dated 1832.
- 5. *The same as B2, but dated 1834, and published in Buffalo. Listed in the catalogue of the Buffalo Public Library for 1837 and 1848, but either worn out or lost before 1865.
- 6. The same as B2, but with the address and date: Desilver, Thomas, & Co., No. 247, Market St. / 1835.
- 7. The same as the preceding, but dated 1836.

- 8. The same as B2, but with the address and date: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co. / No. 253 Market Street. / 1838.
- 9. The same as the preceding, but dated 1839.
- 10. The / Poetical Works / of / Howitt, Milman, / and Keats, / Complete / In One Volume. / Philadelphia: / Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co. / No. 253, Market Street. / 1840.
- x, 447 (Howitt and Milman, 223-34 missing), vii, 75 (Keats); double columns; front. (ports.) engraved by Ellis; 5.5 × 9. There is also a second numbering at the bottom of the page: [1] [232], 245 [458], [525] -607. Cf. paging of Keats in B2. Compiled from the American-Galignani text with Howitt and Milman substituted for Coleridge and Shelley. "The many editions already published of Keats's works have sufficiently attested his popularity. His reputation has been continually advancing since the period of his lamented death..." (Preface).
- 11. SMITH'S STANDARD LIBRARY. / [Royal coat of arms] / THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS. / [Device] / LONDON: / BY PERMISSION OF THE PROPRIETOR, / WILLIAM SMITH, 113, FLEET STREET. / BRADBURY & EVANS,] MDCCCXL. [PRINTERS, WHITE-FRIARS. / [PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.]
- iv, 73 (double columns); 6.1 × 9. Another issue appeared without a title-page, with the details of the above title-page (except the coat of arms and device) printed on the cover, and with a half-title reading: "The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats." The first English collected edition, a cheap, paper-covered volume. The nine American and French reprints of Keats before the first English one do not necessarily indicate much greater popularity abroad. British publishers were restricted by copyright; foreign publishers were not. Besides, the foreign editions contained the works of Coleridge and Shelley for readers who did not care for Keats.
- 12. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / London: / Published for the Proprietor, by / William Smith, 113, Fleet Street, / MDCCCXLI.
- iv, 240; front. (port.) by Hilton-Wass; 4×6.6 .

- 13. *The same as B11, but dated 1844. [Rome I]
- 14. The / Poetical Works / of / Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats; / Complete in One Volume. / Philadelphia: / Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co. / 1844.
- xvi, 233, xi, 275, vii, 75; front. (ports.) engraved by Ellis. Numbering at bottom of page inaccurate because of expansion of Coleridge text. Cf. B2.
- 15. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / A New Edition. / London: / Edward Moxon, Dover Street. / MDCCCXLVI
- vii, 256; 3.5×5.5 .
- 16. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / In Two Parts. / Part I. [II.] / New-York: / Wiley & Putnam, 161 Broadway. / 1846.
- iv, 160, vi, 157; 4.7×7 ; Wiley and Putnam's Library of Choice Reading.
- 17. The same as B10 (Howitt, Milman, Keats), except for publisher and date: Crissy & Markley, / No. 4 Minor Street. / 1846.
- 18. The / Poetical Works / of / Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats; / Complete in one Volume. / Philadelphia: / Crissy & Markley, No. 4, Minor Street. / 1847.
- xvi, 233, xi, 275, vii, 75 (double columns); front. (port. of Coleridge) by Wivell-Welch; 5.5 × 9. Keats text the same as in previous American-Galignani editions.
- 19. The same as B15 (Moxon), but dated MDCCCXLVII.
- 20. The same as B17 (Howitt, Milman, Keats), but dated 1847.
- 21. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / New Edition, Complete in One Volume. / New York: / George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway. / 1848.

The same as B16, except for title-page and order. Parts still paged separately, but bound together: vi, iv, 160, 157.

- 22. The same as B17 (Howitt, Milman, Keats), but dated 1849.
- 23. The same as B18 (Coleridge, Shelley, Keats), but dated 1849.
- 24. The same as B15 (Moxon), but dated MDCCCXLIX.
- 25. The same as B21 (Putnam), but dated 1850.
- 26. The same as B15 (Moxon), but dated MDCCCL.
- 27. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / A New Edition. / London: / Edward Moxon, Dover Street. / 1851. vii, 301; 4.2 × 6.8.
- 28. The same as B10 (Howitt, Milman, Keats), but: Published by Crissy and Markley, / Goldsmith's Hall, Library Street. / 1852.
- 29. The same as B15 (Moxon), but dated 1853.
- 30. The same as B18 (Coleridge, Shelley, Keats), except for address and date: Goldsmith's Hall, Library Street. / 1853.
- 30a. The same as the preceding, but without date.
- 31. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / With a Memoir, / By Richard Monckton Milnes. / A New Edition. / London: / Edward Moxon, Dover Street. / 1854.
- xlvii, 301; front. (port.) by Severn-Robinson; 4.1×6.5 .
- 32. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS. / WITH A MEMOIR, BY RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES. / ILLUSTRATED BY 120 DESIGNS, ORIGINAL AND FROM THE ANTIQUE, / DRAWN ON WOOD BY / GEORGE SCHARF, JUN., F.S.A., F.R.S.L. / LONDON: / EDWARD MOXON, DOVER STREET. / 1854.
- xii, xl, 375; front. (port.) by Severn-Robinson; 5.2 × 7.9. Victorianclassical illustrations. This is the earliest of the richly illustrated editions of Keats so common in the next sixty years.
- 33. The same as the preceding, but on heavier paper with wider margins, 7.5×10 .

- 34. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / With a Life. / Boston: / Little, Brown and Company. / New York: Evans and Dickerson. / Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co. / MDCCCLIV.
- xxxvi, 415; front. (port.) after Severn; 4 × 6.6. Biographical introduction by Lowell.
- 35. The same as B21 (Putnam, 1848; vi, iv, 160, 157), but published by: D. Appleton & Co., 346 & 348 Broadway. / MDCCCLV.
- 36. The same as the preceding, but arranged: iv, 160, vi, 157.
- 37. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / With a Memoir / By Richard Monckton Milnes. / Elegantly Illustrated. / Philadelphia: / Published by E. H. Butler & Co. / 1855.
- 350; front. (port.) by Severn-Anderson; 5.4×7.8 . Full-page illustrations in black and white by Howard-Sartain.
- 38. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / With a Memoir, / By Richard Monckton Milnes. / A New Edition. / London: / Edward Moxon, Dover Street. / 1856. xlviii, 256; 4 × 6.1.
- 39. The same as B35 (Appleton), but dated MDCCCLVII.
- 40. The same as B31 (Milnes, Moxon; xlvii, 301), but dated 1858.
- 41. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS. / WITH A LIFE. / BOSTON: / LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY. / SHEPARD, CLARK AND BROWN. / MDCCCLIX.
- xxxvi, 438; 4.2 × 6.6; the *British Poets*. Biographical introduction by Lowell.
- 42. *The same as B38, but dated 1861. [Rome II]
- 43. The same as B32 (Milnes, Scharf, Moxon), but without the Preface and published by: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge. / 1862.

- 44. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / With a Life. / Boston: / Little, Brown and Company. / 1863.
- 361; front. (port.) after Severn. Biographical introduction by Lowell.
- 45. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / With a Life. / Boston: / Little, Brown and Company. / New York: Blakeman and Mason. / MDCCCLXIII.

xxxvi, 438; front. (port.) after Severn. Life by Lowell.

- 46. The same as B41, but published by: Little, Brown and Company. / MDCCCLXIV.
- 47. The same as B32 (Milnes, now Lord Houghton, Scharf, Moxon), but issued with a new title-page dated 1866.
- 48. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS. / WITH A MEMOIR / [Device with motto, "Perennis et Fragrans"] / BOSTON: / LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY. / 1866.
- xxxvi, 438; front. (port.) after Severn; 5×7.8 . Edition limited to one hundred copies. Except for title-page and paper, the same as B41 and B45.
- 49. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / With a Memoir, / By the Right Hon. the Lord Houghton. / A New Edition / [Device] / London: / Edward Moxon & Co., Dover Street. / 1866.

xlviii, 291; front. (fanciful portrait); 4 × 6.1.

- 50. *The same as the preceding, but dated 1868. [Rome II]
- 51. THE "CHANDOS CLASSICS." / THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS. / REPRINTED FROM THE EARLY EDITIONS, / WITH MEMOIR, EXPLANATORY NOTES, &c. / [Device] / LONDON: / FREDERICK WARNE AND COY / BEDFORD STREET, STRAND. / NEW YORK: SCRIBNER, WELFORD AND ARMSTRONG.

[1868]; xix, 281. This is "a complete reprint of all his poems out of Copyright to the present time, and contains considerably more

than any other Non-copyright Edition yet published." It also seems to be the first annotated edition and the first to be issued jointly by British and American publishers. It was reissued several times, with slight variations on the title-page, usually without indication of date, sometimes by the London publisher alone. Also published, without date, in London by: James Blackwood and Co., / Lovell's Court, Paternoster Row.

52. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS. / WITH A MEMOIR, / By LORD HOUGHTON, / A NEW, REVISED, AND Enlarged Edition. / [Device] / London: / Edward Moxon & Co., Dover Street. / 1869.

xlvii, 349; front. (port.) after Hilton; 4.8 × 7.4. Reissued without change in text in 1871 and 1876. *The first issue of this edition was in 1865. [Rome I]

- 53. The same as B49 (Houghton, Moxon), but: E. Moxon, Son, & Co., 44 Dover Street. / 1869. The Pocket Series.
- 54. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / With a MEMOIR. / [Device] / BOSTON: / JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY, / LATE TICKNOR & FIELDS, AND FIELDS, OSGOOD, & Co. / 1871. xxxvi, 438; front. (port.) after Severn; the British Posts. Memoir by Lowell. The same text as B41 etc., but issued by a new publisher.
- 55. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS. / EDITED, WITH A CRITICAL MEMOIR, / BY / WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI. / ILLUSTRATED BY / THOMAS SECCOMBE. / [Device] / LONDON: / E. Moxon, Son, & Co., Dover Street, / And / 1 Amen Corner, PATERNOSTER ROW.

[1872]; xxiii, 406; front. (port.) after Hilton; Moxon's Popular Poets.

56. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED / WITH AN INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR AND ILLUSTRATIONS / BY WILLIAM B. SCOTT / LONDON / GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS / THE Broadway, Ludgate / New York: 416 Broome Street

[1873]; xxxii, 351. Reissued, without illustrations in 1880 (Excelsior

Series) and 1893 (Routledge's Poets for the People), and with illustrations in 1894.

- 57. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS. / WITH A MEMOIR, / BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. / WITH ILLUSTRATIONS. / NEW YORK: / JAMES MILLER, 647 BROADWAY / 1873.
- 340; front. (port.) vaguely after Severn; illustrations. Reissued later, without date; also published by Hurst and Company.
- 58. THE LANSDOWNE POETS. / THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / REPRINTED FROM THE EARLY EDITIONS, / WITH MEMOIR, EXPLANATORY NOTES &c. / [Device] / PORTRAIT AND ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS. / LONDON: / FREDERICK WARNE AND Co., / BEDFORD STREET, / STRAND.
- [1874?]; xix, 282. Apparently succeeding the *Chandos Classics*, B51. Reissued later with xix, 284 pp.
- 59. THE POETICAL WORKS OF / JOHN KEATS. / CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED AND / EDITED, WITH A / MEMOIR, / BY LORD HOUGHTON, / . . . / LONDON: / GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET, / COVENT GARDEN. / 1876.
- xxxii, 493; front. (port.) by Severn-Jeens; the Aldine Edition. Reissued in 1883, 1886, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1899, 1901, 1906. Also published in Boston, by Roberts Bros., in 1877, 1882, 1887, with minor variations in format. In 1900 it was published in Toronto by Morang and Co.
- 60. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / [Device] / London: / Ward, Lock, & Co., Warwick House, / Dorset Buildings, Salisbury Square, E
- [1878]; vii, 406. Cheap reprint of the text of Moxon's Popular Poets (cf. B55).
- 61. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / COLERIDGE AND KEATS / WITH A MEMOIR OF EACH! FOUR VOLUMES IN TWO / VOL. II / [Device] / NEW YORK / PUBLISHED BY HURD AND HOUGHTON / BOSTON: H. O. HOUGHTON AND COMPANY / THE RIVERSIDE PRESS, CAMBRIDGE / 1878

- vi, 331 (Coleridge), xxxvi, 438 (Keats); front. (port.). Memoir by Lowell. Reissued later (1888?), without date, by Houghton Mifflin.
- 62. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / New York: / John Wurtele Lovell, Publisher, / No. 24 Bond Street. / 1880.
- 416 pp. Reissued the next year with new title-page and red line-borders.
- 63. The same as the preceding, but without date and published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.
- 64. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats / Reprinted from the Original Editions / with Notes / By / Francis T. Palgrave / [Vignette by Flaxman] / London / Macmillan and Co. / 1884.
- viii, 284; the Golden Treasury Series. Frequently reprinted.
- 65. THE POETICAL WORKS OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY / WILLIAM T. ARNOLD / [Device] / LONDON / KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, & Co., / PATERNOSTER SQUARE / MDCCCLXXXIIII. lvi, 349; front. (port.) after Hilton. This is the predecessor of the Globe Edition (1907). Reprinted in 1888. A large-paper edition, limited to fifty copies, was also published in 1884.
- 66. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / GIVEN FROM HIS OWN EDITIONS / AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES AND COLLATED WITH / MANY MANUSCRIPTS / [Device] / EDITED BY HARRY BUXTON FORMAN / LONDON / REEVES & TURNER 196 STRAND / 1884.
- xxxi, 597; front. (port.) after Severn. Based on the first edition (1883) of the collected writings, H1.
- 67. The second edition of the above, dated 1885, and with numerous photographic illustrations.
- 68. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / REPRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITIONS / WITH NOTES / BY / FRANCIS T. PALGRAVE / [Vignette] / LONDON / MACMILLAN AND CO. / 1885

- xi, 282; 5.2×8.2 . A large-paper edition limited to 250 copies. Cf. B64.
- 69. *The same as B62, but dated 1885 and with 427 pp. [LC]
- 70. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / WITH AN INTRODUCTORY SKETCH / BY JOHN HOGBEN. / LONDON: / WALTER SCOTT, 24 WARWICK LANE, PATERNOSTER ROW, / AND NEW-CASTLE-ON-TYNE. / 1885.
- vi, 310; the Canterbury Poets. This volume also appears with the date 1886, and without date.
- 71. The same as B55 (Moxon's Popular Poets), but published by Ward, Lock, & Co. in 1888. Moxon's imprint remains on the half-title. Also published, without date, on heavier paper, as Moxon's Library Poets.
- 72. The same as B66, but described as: Third Edition / Augmented and Corrected / . . . / 1889. Same pagination (xxxi, 597).
- 73. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY / WILLIAM T. ARNOLD / IN TWO VOLUMES / VOL. I. [II.] / NEW YORK / DODD, MEAD, AND COMPANY / 1889. xlviii, 180, vii, 187; fronts. (ports.) after Haydon and Hilton.
- 74. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / WITH MEMOIR, EXPLANATORY NOTES, ETC. / LONDON: / FREDERICK WARNE AND Co. / AND NEW YORK.
 [188-?]; xxvii, 452.
- 75. Newbery Classics. / The Poetical Works / of John Keats. / [Device] / Griffith Farran Okeden & Welsh / Newbery House / London & Sydney. [1891?]; xix, 284.
- 76. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats. / New York / United States Book Company / Successors to / John W. Lovell Company / 142 to 150 Worth Street.

 1891; 427. Cf. B62 and B69.

77. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / GIVEN FROM HIS OWN EDITIONS / AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES AND COLLATED WITH / MANY MANUSCRIPTS / EDITED BY H. BUXTON FORMAN / THIRD EDITION / AUGMENTED AND CORRECTED / IN THREE VOLUMES / VOL. I [etc.] / [Device] / PHILADELPHIA / J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY / 1891.

xxxi, 597 (paged continuously through the three volumes). Apparently the same as B72, but published by Lippincott in three volumes.

78. The / Poetical Works / of / John Keats / Reprinted from the Original Editions / With Notes / By / Francis T. Palgrave / Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford / New York: 46 East 14th Street / Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. / Boston: 100 Purchase Street [1893?]; ix, 298.

79. THE POEMS OF JOHN KEATS.

Colophon: Overseen after the text of foregoing editions by / F. S. Ellis, and printed by me William Morris / at the Kelmscott Press, Upper Mall, Hammer-/smith, in the County of Middlesex, and finished / on the 7th day of March, 1894. / [Device] / Sold by William Morris at the Kelmscott Press.

- 384 pp. Limited to 300 copies on paper and seven on vellum.
- 80. The same as B77 (Forman, Lippincott), but with illustrations by W. H. Low, and dated 1895. The Library of Congress had received a copy, however, by July 7, 1894.
- 81. The same as B66 (Forman, Reeves and Turner), but with illustrations by W. H. Low. Dated 1895 and called the fourth edition.
- 82. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN, KEATS / GIVEN FROM HIS OWN EDITIONS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES / AND COLLATED WITH MANY MANUSCRIPTS / EDITED WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES / BY H. BUXTON FORMAN / VOL. I [II] / NEW YORK:

- 46 East 14th Street / Thomas Y. Crowell & Company / Boston: 100 Purchase Street.
- 1895; xx, 661 (two volumes paged continuously); numerous illustrations.
- 83. Another edition with the same editor, publisher, and pagination as the preceding, but in one volume, and without illustrations.
- 84. THE POEMS / OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY / G. THORN DRURY. / WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY / ROBERT BRIDGES. / VOL. I. [II.] / [Device] / LONDON: / LAWRENCE & BULLEN, / . . . / 1896. cxx, 246, xi, 391; front. (port.) after Severn; the Muses' Library. An edition on large paper, limited to 200 copies. The essay by Robert Bridges had been privately printed the previous year. See 09.
- 85. The same as the preceding, but a trade edition published jointly with Charles Scribner's Sons of New York.
- 86. The same as B84, but a trade edition, without date, with the imprint: London: / George Routledge & Sons, Limited / New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.
- 87. ATHENAEUM PRESS SERIES / POEMS BY JOHN KEATS / ... / EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES / BY / ARLO BATES / BOSTON, U.S.A., AND LONDON / GINN & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS / 1896

xxx, 302.

- 88. *The same as B66 (Forman, Reeves and Turner), but illustrated, dated 1896, and called the fifth edition. [Mentioned in B92, below.]
- 89. POEMS / BY / JOHN KEATS / ILLUSTRATIONS BY / ROBERT ANNING BELL / AND INTRODUCTION / BY WALTER RALEIGH / LONDON: GEORGE BELL / & SONS YORK STREET / COVENT GARDEN: New / York 66 FIFTH AVENUE / MDCCCXCVII xxiii, 337; the *Endymion Series*. An edition printed on Japanese vellum at the Chiswick Press, and limited to 125 copies. Illustrated

with line drawings. A trade edition, on paper, was published at the same time.

- 90. The second edition of the preceding, "Revised, with Several New Illustrations, June, 1898." Revised pagination: xxv, 338.
- 91. The Poems / Of / John Keats. / Vol. I. [II.] Colophon: Here ends the First [Second] Volume of / Poems of John Keats. Edited / by Charles J. Holmes, and Decorated by Charles Ricketts, under whose supervi- / sion the Book has been / Printed at the Ballan- / tyne Press. / Published by Messrs. Hacon & Rick- / etts, at the Sign of the Dial, 52 War- / wick Street, Regent Street, /

173, 173. An edition limited to 217 copies.

London / M/D/C/C/C/X/C/V/III.

- 92. The same as B66 (except for minor changes in canon), and described as: Sixth Edition / With Seven Portraits and Ten other / Illustrations / London / Published for Reeves and Turner / By Gibbings and Company, 18 Bury Street, Bloomsbury / 1898.
- 93. THE / POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / GIVEN FROM HIS OWN EDITIONS AND / OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES AND / LATED WITH MANY / MANUSCRIPTS / EDITED WITH NOTES AND APPENDICES / BY H. BUXTON FORMAN AND MRS. KEATS / AND A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH / BY WM. M. ROSSETTI / COMPLETE EDITION / A. L. BURT COMPANY, PUBLISHERS, / 52-58 DUANE STREET, NEW YORK.
- [c. 1900?]; xix, 509. Also published with a slightly altered title-page in the *Home Library*. I regret that I am unable to identify the Mrs. Keats who shared in the editing.
- 94. THE COMPLETE POETICAL / WORKS OF / JOHN KEATS / CABINET EDITION / [Device] / BOSTON AND NEW YORK / HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY / THE RIVERSIDE PRESS, CAMBRIDGE / MDCCCC x, 473.
- 95. THE / POETICAL WORKS OF / JOHN KEATS / [Device] / LONDON / GRANT RICHARDS / HENRIETTA STREET / 1901. viii, 336; the *World's Classics*. Reprinted 1902, 1905, 1909, 1912,

- 1917, 1921, 1923; revised and enlarged 1927; reprinted frequently thereafter.
- 96. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND MEMOIR BY / WALTER S. SCOTT / LONDON / JAMES FINCH AND CO. LIMITED / NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY / 1902
- xl, 632; front. (port.) after Hilton; the Hampstead Edition.
- 97. THE POEMS / OF /JOHN KEATS / LONDON / GEORGE NEWNES LTD / SOUTHAMPTON STREET. MCMII / NEW YORK / CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
- vii, 469; front. (fanciful picture of Keats). This volume is also found without date and with Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Company as the London publishers.
- 98. The same as B92 (Forman, Reeves and Turner, illustrated), but dated 1902 and called the seventh edition.
- 99. The same as B96, but an edition on Japanese vellum, limited to 250 copies, and dated 1903.
- 100. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND MEMOIR BY / WALTER S. SCOTT / REVISED BY GEORGE SAMPSON / NEW YORK: / THE MACMILLAN COMPANY / 1903
- xl, 632; front. (port.) after Hilton; the *Hampstead Edition*. Revised American edition of B96.
- 101. THE OXFORD MINIATURE EDITION / POEMS / BY / JOHN KEATS / [Device] / LONDON: HENRY FROWDE / OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE / AMEN CORNER, E.C. / NEW YORK: 91 & 93 FIFTH AVENUE / 1903
 xii, 574; front. (port.) after Severn; 2.2 × 4.1.
- 102. Poems / By / John Keats / with an Introduction / By Laurence Binyon / and Notes by John Masefield / ... / London / Methuen & Co. / ... / MDCCCCIII xxix, 385; front. (life-mask).

103. THE POEMS OF / JOHN KEATS / VOL. I. [II.] / LONDON PRINTED / AT THE CHISWICK PRESS FOR / GEORGE BELL & SONS MCMIV.

vii, 207, vi, 220; front. (port.) after Hilton; the *Chiswick Quartos*. An edition limited to 350 copies for sale and twenty for presentation. Edited by George Sampson. Titles and initials in red. *Otho the Great* and *The Cap and Bells* omitted.

104. THE POEMS / OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED / WITH AN INTRODUCTION / AND NOTES BY / E. DE SÉLINCOURT / WITH A FRONTISPIECE / IN PHOTOGRAVURE / METHUEN AND Co. / 36 ESSEX STREET: STRAND / LONDON

1905; lxviii, 613; front. (life-mask). The American edition was published in New York by Dodd, Mead and Company.

105. THE POETICAL WORKS OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION / AND TEXTUAL NOTES BY / H. BUXTON FORMAN, C.B. / [Illustration] / OXFORD / AT THE CLARENDON PRESS / MCMVI

lxxvii, 491; front. (ports.); facsimiles. Cf. Oxford Edition, B110, below.

106. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY / GEORGE SAMPSON / LONDON / FINCH, POOLEY AND CO. LIMITED / 1906

xii, 654; front. (port.) after Severn. *Also published in Edinburgh the same year by W. P. Nimmo and Company as the *Edina Edition*. [Rome II]

107. THE POEMS / OF / JOHN KEATS / WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY / E. DE SÉLINCOURT / METHUEN & Co. / . . . / LONDON 1906; xii, 385; Methuen's Standard Library.

108. The Poems / of John / Keats / London: Published / by J. M. Dent & Co / and in New York / By E. P. Dutton & Co

1906; xxii, 383; Everyman's Library. Frequently reprinted.

- 109. The Poems / of / John Keats / Edited / With an Introduction / and Notes by / E. De Sélincourt / With a Frontispiece / In Photogravure / Methuen and Co. / 36 Essex Street W.C. / London / Second Edition, Revised
- 1907; lxviii, 613. Cf. B104. Revised in the light of the discovery of the autograph MS. of *Hyperion*, the Woodhouse Transcript of *The Fall of Hyperion* and a few minor poems. Introduction and notes revised.
- 110. Oxford Edition / The Complete / Poetical Works / of / John Keats / Edited with an Introduction and / Textual Notes / By / H. Buxton Forman, C.B. / [Device] / London: Henry Frowde / Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, E.C. / New York: 91 & 93 Fifth Avenue / Toronto: 25-27 Richmond Street West / 1907

lxxvii, 491; front. (port.) after Severn. Frequently reprinted.

- 111. THE GLOBE EDITION / THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY / WILLIAM T. ARNOLD / MACMILLAN AND Co., LIMITED / ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON / 1907
- lxii, 345. Based on B65 (1884). Poems of Keats' three original volumes included, but only a selection from the rest of his writing. Frequently reprinted.
- 112. The same as B109, but published in New York by Dodd, Mead and Co., 1909.
- 113. The Poems / of / John Keats / With Twenty Four / Illustrations in Colour / By Averil Burleigh / [Device] / London / Chapman & Hall Ltd

[1911]; viii, 160; the Burlington Library.

114. The Poetical Works / of / John Keats / With Introduction by / Andrew Lang / Ward Lock & Co., Limited / London and Melbourne

[1911?]; xix, 500.

- 115. The same as B109 (De Sélincourt, Methuen), but published in 1912 and called the third edition.
- 116. AUTOGRAPH POETS / THE COMPLETE / POETICAL WORKS OF / JOHN KEATS / [Device] / BOSTON AND NEW YORK / HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY / THE RIVERSIDE PRESS CAMBRIDGE / 1912. ix, 260 (double columns); front. (port.).
- 117. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / ILLUSTRATED BY A. A. DIXON / [Illustration] / LONDON & GLASGOW / COLLINS' CLEAR-TYPE PRESS

[1912?]; 454; front.

- 118. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED AND EDITED / WITH A MEMOIR BY / LORD HOUGHTON / LONDON / G. BELL AND SONS, LTD. / 1914
- xxxii, 498; Bohn's Popular Library, successors to the Aldine Edition. Poems on pp. 494 ff. added; otherwise the same as in numerous Aldine editions. See B59.
- 119. THE POEMS OF / JOHN KEATS / ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL / ORDER WITH A PREFACE / BY SIDNEY COLVIN / VOLUME ONE [Two] / AT THE FLORENCE PRESS / LONDON: CHATTO & WINDUS / MCMXV
- xviii, 338, vii, 371; 7×8.5 . An edition on hand-made paper with deckle-edge, limited to 250 copies. A trade edition was published in 1924 and again in *1928 [Bookseller's list].
- 120. THE POEMS OF / JOHN KEATS / ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL / ORDER WITH A PREFACE / BY SIDNEY COLVIN / VOLUME ONE [Two] / BRENTANO'S / NEW YORK
- 1915; xviii, 338, viii, 371; 6 × 8; the Florence Press.
- 121. THE / POETICAL WORKS OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY LAURENCE BINYON / WITH A CRITICAL ESSAY BY / ROBERT BRIDGES, POET LAUREATE / ILLUSTRATED IN COLOUR / BY CLAUDE A. SHEPPERSON / A.R.W.S. / HODDER AND STOUGHTON

- 1916; li, 180 (double columns); 8.3×10.8 . The essay by Robert Bridges was revised from the preface to the *Muses' Library* edition, 1896, and the privately printed essay of 1895 (B84 and 09).
- 122. The "Fourth Edition, Revised" of B109 (De Sélincourt, Methuen), published in 1920 with paging: lxviii, 627.
- 123. The American issue of the previous item, published in New York by Dodd, Mead and Company in 1921.
- 124. The same as B116, but published in 1924, without the frontispiece, and called the *Fireside Poets*.
- 125. The "Fifth Edition, Revised" of B109 (De Sélincourt, Methuen), published in 1926 with paging: lxviii, 639.
- 126. THE COMPLETE POETRY / OF JOHN KEATS / EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY / GEORGE R. ELLIOTT / ... / THE MACMILLAN COMPANY / PUBLISHERS NEW YORK MCMXXVII / THE MODERN READERS' SERIES
- xxiii, 457. Also published in 1929 by the Book League of America "by arrangement with the Macmillan Company."
- 127. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF JOHN KEATS / OXFORD UNI-VERSITY PRESS / HUMPHREY MILFORD
- [1927]; x, 470; the World's Classics, revised edition (cf. B95). Reprinted later.
- 128. THE POEMS & VERSES / OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED AND ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER BY / JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY / IN TWO VOLUMES—VOLUME I [II] / LONDON / THE KING'S PRINTERS / MCMXXX
- xv, 599 (two volumes paged continuously); 6.7×8.5 . An edition limited to 765 copies with decorations by Edward Carrick.
- 129. JOHN KEATS / AND / PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY / COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS / . . . / BENNETT A. CERF. DONALD S. KLOPFER / THE MODERN LIBRARY / NEW YORK

- 1932; viii, 398 (Keats), xix, 914 (Shelley); *Modern Library Giants*. Published in London by John Lane, the Bodley Head Ltd., 1935. Also published, without date (1936?), by Carlton House, New York.
- 130. Dent's Double Volumes / The Poems / of / John Keats / with / The Life and Letters / by / Lord Houghton / London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
- 1933; xxii, 383 (Poems), xvi, 231 (Life and Letters). Two previously published books (B108 and O25), bound as one.
- 131. THE COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY / H. BUXTON FORMAN, C.B. / WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY / LEONARD BACON / ... / NEW YORK / OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS / 1934 xxiii, 496.
- 132. John Keats / Complete Poems / And Selected / Letters / Edited by Clarence De Witt Thorpe / . . . / Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. / Garden City New York 1935; liii, 666; front. (port.) after Severn.

 Pp. 3-490. Poems.
- 133. THE POETICAL WORKS / OF JOHN KEATS / [Device] / WASHINGTON. D.C. / NATIONAL HOME LIBRARY FOUNDATION / SHERMAN F. MITTEL. EDITOR [1937]; ix, 502.
- 134. The / Poetical Works / Of / John Keats / Edited by H. W. Garrod / ... / Oxford / at the Clarendon Press / 1939
- lxxxix, 572. The complete variorum text.
- 135. Poems / John Keats / London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd. / New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Inc.
- 1944; xii, 372; Everyman's Library, "re-edited and re-set." Cf. B108. Introduction by Gerald Bullett.

C. Selected Poems

1..../ SELECTIONS / FROM THE / BRITISH CLASSICS, / SHELLEY AND KEATS. / ... / NEW YORK: / PUBLISHED BY ARTHUR MORRELL, / 25 PARK Row. / 1852

124 pp.; Morrell's Standard Miniature Library.

2. THE EVE OF St. Agnes, / AND OTHER POEMS. / ... / IL-LUSTRATED. / BOSTON: / JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY, / ... / 1876.

96; 3.2×4.7 ; Vest-Pocket Series.

3. ... / Endymion, / and / Other Poems. / ... / Cassell & Company, Limited: / ... / 1887.

192 pp.; Cassell's National Library, edited by Henry Morley.

4. Lines / from / Keats. / Selected by / William Ordway Partridge / and / Bernhard Berenson. / Boston: / H. H. Carter & Karrick, / 3 Beacon Street.

[1887]; 28. Mostly two- and three-line quotations.

5. Odes & Sonnets by John Keats / [Illustration] / with Illustrative Designs by Will H. Low / J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. MDCCCLXXXVIII

100 (folio) pp. Handsome illustrated edition; one stanza to a page with decorations above and below. An English edition appeared the same year, published by John Bumpus, London.

- 6. Selections / from / Keats / London / George Routledge and Sons / . . . / 1889
- x, 254; 3.5×5 . Includes all the poems from the 1820 volume and a selection from the others, edited by J. R. Tutin. This book was also published later, without date, by Routledge in association with E. P. Dutton of New York.

- 7. Roses of Romance / from the poems of / John Keats / [Device] / Selected and Illustrated by / Edmund H. Garrett / London / Gay and Bird / 1892
 113 pp.
- 8. THE MASTERPIECE LIBRARY. / XIX.— THE POEMS / OF / JOHN KEATS. / ... / LONDON: / "REVIEW OF REVIEWS" OFFICE. / Vol. V. Price one penny.
 [1894?]; 60.
- 9. THE KEATS / BIRTHDAY BOOK / COMPILED BY / J.R.E.P. / . . . / EDINBURGH / W. P. NIMMO, HAY, & MITCHELL [1895]; 243; frontispiece "from a photograph of the Bust in Hampstead Church, sculptured by Miss A. Whitney." A stanza for each day of the year.
- 10. Odes Sonnets & Lyrics / of / John Keats / Daniel: Oxford: / 1895
- 59; front. (port.) after Severn; 6.2×9 . An edition limited to 250 copies, and published "as a Memorial of the Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of Keats."
- 11. THE ODES OF KEATS / WITH NOTES AND ANALYSES / AND A MEMOIR / BY / ARTHUR C. DOWNER, M.A. / . . . / WITH ILLUSTRATIONS / OXFORD / AT THE CLARENDON PRESS / 1897 vi, 103; front. (port.) after Severn.
- 12. Four Poets / Poems from / Wordsworth, Coleridge / Shelley, and Keats / Selected by / Oswald Crawfurd / London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd. / 1897 viii, 479.
- 13. THE LYRIC / POEMS OF / JOHN / KEATS / EDITED BY ERNEST / RHYS / J. M. DENT & Co....
 [1897]; xxiii, 188; front. (port.) after Hilton.
- 14. THE RIVERSIDE LITERATURE SERIES / ODE ON A GRECIAN URN / AND OTHER POEMS / ... / WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH,

15. THE RIVERSIDE LITERATURE SERIES / ODE ON A GRECIAN URN / THE EVE OF St. Agnes / AND OTHER POEMS / . . . / WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH, INTRODUCTIONS / AND NOTES / HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY / . . .

1898; iv, 120.

- 16. The / Revival of English Poetry / in the / Nineteenth Century / Selections from / Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, / Keats and Byron / with an Introduction by / Elinor M. Buckingham ... / The Morse Company / New York Boston / 1898
 lxv, 257.
- 17. THE SONNETS OF / JOHN KEATS / PUBLISHED BY GEORGE BELL / & SONS, LONDON. MDCCCXCVIII

Colophon: This edition of the Sonnets of John Keats, / with Decorated Borders and Initials by 'Christopher Dean, is published by George / Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent / Garden, London, and Printed at the / Chiswick Press. MDCCCXCVIII. / [Device] 54 pp. An edition limited to twenty-five copies on Japanese vellum.

- 18. Endymion / & the / Longer / Poems / of / John / Keats. / MDCCCXCVIII Published by J. M. Dent: /
- 233; front. (port.) after Severn; the *Temple Classics*. Edited with "a bibliographical epilogue" by H. Buxton Forman. Reissued several times.
- 19. The same as C17, but the trade edition, on untrimmed paper, and dated MDCCCC.
- 20. Poems from Shelley / and Keats / Selected and Edited / By / Sidney Carleton Newsom / . . . / New York / The

Macmillan Company / London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. / 1900 / . . .

lv, 221. Reissued in 1907 in Macmillan's Pocket Classics.

21. Poems / By / John Keats. / [Device] / London / Gay & Bird / 1900

xviii, 136; front. (port.) after Hilton; 3×5 ; the *Bibelots*, edited by J. Potter Briscoe. An edition limited to sixty copies on Japanese vellum. A trade edition, on paper, was published at the same time.

- 22. Poems / of / Keats and Coleridge / Selected and Arranged for Use in Schools / By / C. Linklater Thomson / ... / London / Adam and Charles Black / 1901 vii, 70; Black's Literature Series.

24. THE ODES OF / JOHN KEATS

Colophon: This Volume is printed at the Chiswick Press / and published by George Bell and Sons. The / Illustrations are by Robert Anning Bell, / and are taken from the Edition of Keats' Poems in the "Endymion Series." / London, MDCCCCI

42; 4.2×5.8 . *Reissued in 1903. [Rome II]

- 25. .../The Eve of St. Agnes/and other Poems/Edited, with Introduction and Notes/By/Katharine Lee Bates/.../Silver, Burdett and Company/...
 1902; 157; front. (port.).
- 26. Isabella and / The Eve of St Agnes / By / John Keats Colophon: This edition of Keats' "Isabella" and "The / Eve of St. Agnes" is printed at the Chiswick / Press and published by George Bell and / Sons. Most of the Illustrations are taken / from the larger edition of Keats' poems in / the "Endymion Series" but

- some have been / specially drawn for this volume. / London, MDCCCCII
- 68 pp. Illustrations by R. Anning Bell. Cf. B89.
- 27. THE ODES / OF / JOHN KEATS / [Device] / EDINBURGH / R. GRANT & SON . . . / LONDON: R. BRIMLEY JOHNSON / BOSTON: ALFRED BARTLETT / MDCCCCIII
 31 pp.
- 28. POEMS BY / JOHN KEATS / WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY / ALICE MEYNELL. / BLACKIE AND SON LIMITED LONDON MCMIII xii, 277; 4 × 6; the *Red Letter Library*. A large selection, reissued frequently with slight variations.
- 29. Poems / By / John Keats / with an Introduction / by / Alice Meynell / H. M. Caldwell Company / Boston New York
- xii, 275. "First printed March, 1903 / Reprinted, 1904."
- 30. Sonnets / By / John Keats / [Device] / The Astolat Press / Great Castle St. W. / MDCCCCIV 55 pp.
- 31. Endymion / and Other Poems / ... / With an Introduction by / Henry Morley / Cassell and Company, Limited / ... MCMV / ...
- 192; front. (port.) after Hilton; Cassell's National Library.
- 32. Odes, Sonnets / & / La Belle Dame / Sans Merci / . . . / London: S. Wellwood / 34 Strand / 1906
- vi, 65; the Wellwood Books. An edition limited to 500 copies on hand-made paper and fifteen copies on Japanese vellum, and printed at the Ballantyne Press, London.
- 33. Lamia / La Belle Dame Sans / Merci, etc. / . . . / London / George Routledge & Sons, Limited / New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.
- [1906]; 46; the Broadway Booklets.

- 34. Realms of Gold / Selected from the Works / of John Keats / Methuen & Co. / / London
- 1906; v, 389. A day-book of selections from the poems and a few from the letters.
- **35.** Poésies / DE / John Keats / . . . / 1907 See S14.
- 36. Poems of / Keats / Selected & with an Introduction by / Arthur Symons. / Edinburgh / T. C. & E. C. Jack. [1907]; xxxix, 240; front. (fanciful portrait); the Golden Poets. Illustrations in colour by E. J. Sullivan.
- 37. The American edition of the preceding, published by George W. Jacobs, Philadelphia, and with pagination: xxxix, 249.
- 38. Vol. XIII. No. 3 / March. MDCCCCVII. /The Bibelot / ... / Printed for Thomas B. Mosher / and Published by him at 45 Ex-/change Street, Portland, Maine / Current Numbers 5 cents. / The Seven Golden Odes / Of John Keats Pp. 83-116; paper-covered.
- 39. Odes, Sonnets, / and Lyrics / By / John Keats / with a Preface by / Edmund Clarence Stedman / and a Note by / Richard Watson Gilder / [Device] / New York / The Century Co. / 1908
 xxxi, 130.
- 40. THE ODES / OF / JOHN KEATS / [Device] / LONDON / SIEGLE, HILL & Co. / 2 LANGHAM PLACE W. [1908]; 19; the Oakleaf Series.
- 41. GATEWAY SERIES / SELECTIONS FROM / BYRON, WORDSWORTH, SHELLEY, / KEATS, AND BROWNING / EDITED BY / CHARLES TOWNSEND COPELAND / ... / AND / HENRY MILNER RIDEOUT / ... / AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY 1909; 311.

- 42. Keats's Isabella / and / The Eve of St. Agnes / Oxford / At The Clarendon Press [1909]; 32; Oxford Plain Texts.
- 43. Sonnets / By / John Keats / Siegle, Hill & Co. / 2 Langham Place, W.

[1909]; 112; 2.2 × 3.3; Langham Booklets.

- 44. The Odes / of / John Keats / Siegle, Hill & Co. / 2 Langham Place / London, W. [1910]; 78; 2.3 × 3.4; Langham Booklets.
- 45. Poems of / Keats / Illustrated by / E. J. Sullivan / London / T. C. & E. C. Jack / and Edinburgh [1910]; 47.
- 46. Keats / Day by Day / Selected by / Constance M. Spender / Designs by Margaret Tarrant / London / George G. Harrap & Co / . . .
- [1910]; 102; the *Poets Day by Day*. Brief selections for devotional reading.
- 47. The Shorter Poems / of / John Keats / George G. Harrap & Co. / London . . .
- [1910]; 223; front. (port.); the King's Treasury of Literary Master-pieces.
- 48. THE UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL SERIES / THE ODES / OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY / A. R. WEEKES . . . / LONDON: W. B. CLIVE [1911]; 104.
- 49. POEMS / BY / JOHN KEATS / SELECTED AND ARRANGED / WITH AN INTRODUCTION / BY PHILIP PLOWDEN / AND ILLUSTRATED BY / E. A. PIKE. / LONDON ANDREW MELROSE / . . . / MCMXI xx, 198; Selected Poems Series.

- 50. Poems / By / Wordsworth, Coleridge, / Shelley, and Keats / Selected and Edited / By / James Weber Linn / . . . / New York / Henry Holt and Company / 1911 lvii, 215.
- 52. THE RIVERSIDE LITERATURE SERIES / SELECTED LYRICS / FROM / WORDSWORTH, KEATS / AND SHELLEY / EDITED BY CHARLES SWAIN THOMAS... / HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY / ...
 1913; vi, 130.

53. KEATS / 1914

Colophon: Selected, Arranged, and Printed / at The Doves Press. 15 Upper Mall, Hammersmith, / By T. J. Cobden-Sanderson. /.... 203; 6.7 × 9.3. An edition limited to twelve copies on vellum and 200 on paper.

- 54. Selections from the Poems / of John Keats. Edited by / A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A., F.S.A. / Cambridge: / at the University Press / 1915 xxxii, 172; English Romantic Poets. Reprinted in 1924.
- 55. Keats / Odes / Lyrics and Sonnets / Edited with an Introduction and / Notes by / M. (Robertson) Hills / Oxford / At The Clarendon Press / 1916
- 152 pp. Companion volume to Poems Published in 1820 (A5).
- 56. Poems of Keats / Endymion; The Volume of 1820; / And Other Poems / Edited by / W. T. Young, M.A. / . . . / Cambridge: / at the University Press / 1917 xxxvi, 330.

- 57. P. B. Shelley e J. Keats / Liriche Scelte / con Introduzione e Note / di / F. Olivero / [Device] / Bologna / Nicola Zanichelli / Editore
 1919; 105.
- 58. Australasian Literature Primers / Keats / By / R. L. Blackwood, M.A. /.../Whitcombe & Tombs Limited [1920]; 126.
- 59. Poems of Keats / An Anthology / in Commemoration of the / Poet's Death, February 23 / 1821 / Richard / Cobden-Sanderson / 17 Thavies Inn / 1921
- 221; 5.5×8.75 . Also published in New York by Moffat, Yard and Company.
- 60. Odes Sonnets & Lyrics / of John Keats / [Device] / Portland Maine / Thomas Bird Mosher / MDCCCCXXII Colophon: Four hundred and Fifty copies of this / Book Printed on

Colophon: Four hundred and Fifty copies of this / Book Printed on Van Gelder Hand-Made / Paper and the Type Distributed in the / Month of September MDCCCCXXII

- xiv, 88. Based on the Daniel Press edition of 1895 (C10), but with additional poems. Reissued 1924. •
- 61. Poésies / DE / John Keats / . . . / 1922 See S26.
- 62. Selections from / John Keats / The Medici Society Ltd / London...Liverpool.../Bournemouth.../Boston...
 [1923]; 28; 3.7 × 5.
- 63. Five Cent Pocket Series No. 427 / Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius / Poems of John Keats / Edited with an Introduction and Notes by / Nelson Antrim Crawford / Haldeman-Julius Company / Girard, Kansas 1923; 127.
- 64. John Keats / Selected & Edited by / Henry Newbolt / Thomas Nelson / . . . / London & Edinburgh

- [1923]; xvi, 408; front. (fanciful portrait). Several times reissued with only minor changes.
- 65. Odes / By / John Keats / [Device] / Decorated by / Vivien Gribble / Duckworth & Co. / 3 Henrietta Street / London, W.C. / 1923
- 20; 6.2×9.9 . An edition limited to 170 copies, of which 150 were for sale, printed at the Curwen Press on hand-made paper and decorated with woodcuts. A trade edition was published at the same time on ordinary paper, 5.5×8.7 .
- 66. THE COLLEGE LIBRARY / ... / SELECTIONS FROM / SHELLEY AND KEATS / EDITED BY / MARJORIE H. NICOLSON / ... / HARPER & BROTHERS / NEW YORK AND LONDON / MCMXXIV xxxi, 177.
- 67. Selections from / The Poems of / John Keats / & Percy Bysshe / Shelley / Edited by / Richard Wilson D.Litt. / J. M. Dent & Sons. Ltd. London & Toronto
- [1924]; 256; front. (port. after Haydon); the King's Treasury of Literature.
- 68. Keats / Edited by / Alfred Noyes / With Notes, Exercises and Suggestions by / J. Duckworth, B.A. / . . . / Cassell and Company, Ltd / . . .
- 1925; xxiii, 213; the Helicon Poetry Series.
- 69. John Keats / Iperione, Odi / e Sonnetti... (1925) See S29.
- 70. THE COMPANION POETS / KEATS / EDITED BY / S. S. SOPWITH, M.A. / . . . / LONDON / CHRISTOPHERS / 22 BERNERS STREET, W.1 [1925]; 146.
- 71. SHELLEY AND KEATS / CONTRASTED / BY / GUY BOAS / THOMAS NELSON AND SONS, LTD. / LONDON AND EDINBURGH 1925; 254; the *Teaching of English Series*.

72. THE AUGUSTAN BOOKS OF / ENGLISH POETRY / JOHN KEATS / LONDON: ERNEST BENN LTD. / . . .

[1925]; 27. Another edition with the same title-page has 31 pp.

73. No title-page. On cover: Two / Odes / By / John / Keats Colophon: One hundred and sixty copies printed / at the Grabhorn Press for Albert M. Bender / San Francisco, MCMXXVI.

9; 7.5 × 10.8. Ode to Maia and Ode to a Nightingale.

74. ECLECTIC ENGLISH CLASSICS / POEMS OF JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY / FRANK P. BACHMAN, Ph.D. / . . . / AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY / . . .

1926; 112; front. (port.) after Severn.

- 75. THE ODES OF / JOHN KEATS / [Device] / CENTRAL SCHOOL OF ARTS & CRAFTS / MARGARET STREET, BIRMINGHAM / 1927 32 pp.
- 76. Selections from Keats / Edited with Introduction and Notes by / Bernard Groom, M.A. / Macmillan and Co., Limited / St. Martin's Street, London / 1927

xvi, 109; English Literature Series. Republished in 1928 to include Lamia, with pagination: xvi, 135.

77. Odes By John Keats / MCMXXVII

Colophon: Printed at the Halcyon Press by A. A. M. Stols. / . . . / The Edition is limited to 125 copies on / Van Gelder hand-made paper / [Device] / Published by A. A. M. Stols / Bussum (Holland) 21; 6.7 × 9.5.

78. THE SOCRATES BOOKLETS: X / ... / JOHN KEATS / ... / SELECTED POEMS / EDITED BY / H. M. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A. / A. & C. Black, Ltd. / 4,5 & 6 Soho Square, London, W.1 / 1927

iii, 91.

- 79. KEATS / HYPERION, ISABELLA / THE EVE OF ST. AGNES / LAMIA / EDITED BY / G. E. HOLLINGWORTH, M.A. LOND. / . . . / LONDON: W. B. CLIVE / UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL PRESS LD / [1928]; xv, 112.
- 80. John Keats / Selected Poems / Edited by / G. D. H. & M. I. / Cole / [Device] / London / Noel Douglas / 1928 61; 4.3 × 6.7.
- 81. Lamia / Isabella / The Eve of / Saint Agnes / & Other Poems / By John Keats / with Engravings by / Robert Gibbings / 1928 / The / Golden Cockerel / Press

Colophon: This book was printed and illustrated by / Robert Gibbings at the Golden Cockerel Press / At Waltham Saint Lawrence in Berkshire, / and Completed on the 20th Day of September, / 1928....

N.p.; 7×12.2 . An edition limited to 500 copies.

- 82. John Keats / Select Poems / Isabella, Hyperion, The Eve of St. Agnes, / and Lamia / with Introduction and Notes / By / J. H. Boardman . . . / Blackie & Son Limited / London and Glasgow / 1928
- 83. THE COLLECTED SONNETS / OF / JOHN KEATS / ILLUSTRATED BY / JOHN BUCKLAND WRIGHT / THE HALCYON PRESS / A. A. M. STOLS. MAASTRICHT / MCMXXX

N.p.; 6.8×9.8 . An edition limited to 376 copies, of which fifty-one were printed on vellum.

- 84. The same as the above, printed on vellum, but with three extra sets of the illustrations and five rejected woodcuts, all signed by the artist.
- 85. Keats / Lamia, Isabella / The Eve of St. Agnes / Selected Odes / Edited by / G. E. Hollingworth, M.A. Lond. / . . . / And / A. R. Weekes, M.A. Lond. / . . . / London / University Tutorial Press Ld /

[1932]; xiv, 95.

86. A LITTLE TREASURY OF POETRY AND ART / SELECTIONS FROM / KEATS / ILLUSTRATED / THE SHELDON PRESS / NORTH-UMBERLAND AVENUE / LONDON / 1932 / . . .

31 pp.

87. Selections from / Keats / Sonnets, Odes & Narrative Poems / Edited by / L. C. Martin, M.A., B.Litt. / . . . / Ginn and Company Ltd. / . . .

[1933]; xxxii, 183; Selected English Classics.

88. THE RIVERSIDE LITERATURE SERIES / SELECTED LYRICS / FROM / WORDSWORTH, KEATS / AND SHELLEY / EDITED BY / CHARLES SWAIN THOMAS / . . . / HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY /

1934; vi, 120. Cf. C52 (1913).

89. JOHN KEATS / ODES

Colophon: Ce Livre a été réalisé par / Alberto Tallone Milanais / dans la typographie de / Maurice Darantière à Paris. / Il a été achevé d'imprimer / le vingt quatre décembre / mil neuf cent trente cinq. / Il a été tiré à cent vingt / exemplaires sur vélin blanc / de hollande pannekoek / numérotés de 1 A 120. Dix / exemplaires sur papier / impérial du japon, numé / rotés en chiffres romains / de I A X. Dix exemplaires / sur vélin blanc de montval / Marqués de A à J. / . . .

N.p. (folio); 9.4×13.2 .

90. Keats / Lamia, Hyperion / To Autumn, To a Nightingale / On a Grecian Urn / Edited by / G. E. Hollingworth, M.A. Lond. / . . . / And / A. R. Weekes, M.A. Lond. / . . . / London / University Tutorial Press Ld. / . . .

[1936]; xxiv, 84.

91. THE ODES OF / KEATS AND / SHELLEY / [Vignette] / MOUNT VERNON / PETER PAUPER PRESS / MCMXXXVII

Colophon: The Edition / consists of eleven hundred / copies, set by hand in Centaur / type and printed on special rag paper / at the

Walpole Printing office, / Mount Vernon, New York. / The Portraits are by / John Randolph.
52 pp.

- 92. THE SELECTED POEMS OF / JOHN KEATS / [Device] /1937 / CHATTO AND WINDUS / LONDON 64: Zodiac Books.
- 93. ORION / AND / OTHER ANONYMOUS AND HITHERTO / UN-PUBLISHED POEMS / ATTRIBUTED TO / JOHN KEATS / TRAN-SCRIBED AND PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION / BY / BRISTOL WILLIAMS / THE / INTERNATIONAL MARK TWAIN SOCIETY / WEBSTER GROVES, MISSOURI / 1939 xi, 65.
- 94.... / REGENCY POETS / BYRON SHELLEY KEATS / C. R. BULL, ... / MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY PRESS / ... / 1941 viii, 191; Australian School Anthologies.
- 95. LITERARY GEMS / THE EVE OF ST. AGNES / AND / SONNETS / BY / JOHN KEATS / NEW YORK AND LONDON / G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS / . . .

N.d.: 84: 3.3×4.6 .

96. ODE TO A / NIGHTINGALE / LA BELLE DAME / SANS MERCI / JOHN KEATS / JOHNSON, HICKBORN / AND COMPANY, LTD. / LONDON

N.d.; n.p.

97. Modern Classics, / ... / The Eve of St. Agnes, and / Other Poems. / By John Keats. / Illustrated. / Boston: / Houghton Mifflin and Company. /

[189-?]; 96.

D. Separate Poems

1. THE EVE OF ST. AGNES / ... / ILLUSTRATED BY EDWARD H. WEHNERT. / NEW YORK: / D. APPLETON AND CO. BROADWAY. / MDCCCLVI.

30 pp.

- 2. *Another edition: Wehnert; New York; Cassell, Petter and Galpin; 1856; 33 pp.; the *Choice Series*. [UC]
- 3. Another Version of / Keats's "Hyperion."

[1857?]; 24. A reprint of Richard Monckton Milnes' important contribution to the *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society*, III (1856-7). See R8. This was the basic text of *The Fall of Hyperion*: *A Dream* until the discovery of the Woodhouse Transcript in 1904. See D29.

- 4. *The same as D1, but dated 1859. *Another copy dated 1866. [UC]. An English edition was published in 1859 with the imprint: London: / Sampson Low, Son & Co. 47, Ludgate Hill.
- 5. Keatsii Hyperionis / Libri I. [II.] (1862) See S2.
- 6. Keatsii Hyperionis / Libri Tres (1863) See S3.
- 7. Endymion. / . . . / Illustrated with Engravings on Steel / By / F. Joubert. / from Paintings / By / E. J. Poynter, A.R.A. / [Device] / London: / E. Moxon, Son and Co., / . . . / 1873.
- vi, 171 (folio); 11.75 × 16. A note under the illustrations: "Pub. Oct. 1, 1872."

8. The Eve of St. Agnes / ... / Illustrated by Edward H. Wehnert / London: / Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle, /

[1875]; 33; the Choice Series. Cf. D2.

9. Allman's / English Classics for Elementary Schools. / No. 20. / Keats's Hyperion. / Book I / with Notes for Teachers and Scholars. / London: / T. J. Allman, 463, Oxford Street.

1877; 32.

- 11. Laurie's Class Books of Literature. / Keats' / Hyperion. / Book I. / With Introduction, Elucidatory Notes, / And / An Appendix of Exercises / London: / Central School-Depôt, 22, Paternoster Row. / [1878]; 46.
 - 12. THE EVE OF SAINT AGNES / ... / ILLUSTRATED IN NINETEEN ETCHINGS / BY CHARLES O. MURRAY / [Illustration] / LONDON: / SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE, AND RIVINGTON, / ... / 1880 N.p.; 23 leaves, printed only on recto; 10 × 12. Fifty copies were printed on hand-made paper, bound in limp vellum, and signed by C. O. Murray. Also published in New York by the Dodd, Mead Company.
 - 13. ODE TO A NIGHTINGALE. / By / John Keats. / Edited, with an Introduction, / By / Thomas J. Wise. / ... / London: / Printed for the Editor / For Private Distribution only / 1884
 - 20 pp. An edition limited to twenty-five copies on paper and four on vellum.

- 14. The Eve of St Agnes / [Illustration] / By / John Keats 1885; n.p. [37]; 6.6 × 8.9; *Illuminated Missal Series*. Published by: "University Press: John Wilson and Son, Cambridge, U.S.A."
- 15. Lamia / By John Keats / With Illustrative / Designs by / Will. H. Low / J. B. Lippincott Company / Philadelphia MDCCCLXXXV

67 (folio); 11.2×15.1 .

- 16. THE EVE OF ST AGNES / [Vignette] / BY / JOHN KEATS Next leaf: Illustrated By / Edmund H. Garrett / Under the / supervision of / Geo. T. Andrew / Published by / Estes & Lauriat 1885; n.p. [43].
- 17. The same as the preceding, but published (without date) by H. B. Nims, Troy, N.Y.
- 18. Endymion / By John Keats / Illustrated by W. St. John Harper / London / Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington / ... / Printed by John Wilson and Son, University Press, Cambridge, U.S.A.

[1888]; $140 \cdot (folio)$; 12×15 .

- 19. Endymion / By / John Keats / Illustrated by W. St. John Harper / [Decoration] / Boston / Estes and Lauriat / Publishers
- 1888; 140 (folio); 12×15 . An edition limited to 250 copies on Imperial Japan paper.
- 20. The same as D15 (*Lamia*, Low, Lippincott, 1885), but a quarto edition (6.75×8.9) published in 1888.
- 21. Lamia / By John Keats / With Illustrative / Designs By / Will. H. Low / Hildesheimer & Faulkner / London / MDCCCLXXXVIII

67; 7.5×9 . Cf. D15.

- 22. The / Eve of St. Agnes. / . . . / with an Appreciation by / Leigh Hunt. / Printed at the Auvergne Press / by William H. Winslow and / Chauncey L. Williams. 1896.
- 27 pp. Limited to sixty-five copies on hand-made paper, and printed at River Forest, Illinois.
- 23. ISABELLA / . . . / ILLUSTRATED AND / DECORATED BY / W. B. MACDOUGALL / LONDON KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND Co. / Ltd. MDCCCXCVIII
 N.p. [46]; 7.8 × 10.
- 24. The same as the preceding item, but published at Philadelphia by the Lippincott Company.
- 25. ENGLISCHE TEXTBIBLIOTHEK / ... / KEATS' / HYPERION / MIT EINLEITUNG HERAUSGEGEBEN / VON JOHANNES HOOPS / ... / BERLIN / VERLAG VON EMIL FELBER / 1899
 103 pp.
- 26. THE EVE OF / SAINT AGNES / PUBLISHED BY / RALPH / FLETCHER / SEYMOUR / MDCCCC / AT THE / FINE ARTS / BUILDING / MICHIGAN / AVENUE / CHICAGO / ILL. USA / . . . N.p. [55].
- 27. No title-page.

Colophon: Thus ends the Eve of St. Ag-/nes, by John Keats, Printed, / with a Frontispiece by Reg-/inald Savage, at the Essex / House Press, the Guild of / Handicraft, Ltd., under the / Care of C. R. Ashbee. / [Decoration] / An. Dom. / MDCC / CC.

- 23 pp. Printed in prose paragraphs instead of stanzas, with a red line to mark where the beginning of each line should be and a large coloured initial for each paragraph. Limited to 125 copies on vellum.
- 28. THE EVE OF SAINT AGNES / By / JOHN KEATS / [Device] / A. C. CURTIS, GUILDFORD / MDCCCCIII
- 23; the Astolat Oakleaf Series. Also published in Philadelphia, without date, by George W. Jacobs and Company.

- 29. Hyperion / A Facsimile of / Keats's Autograph Manuscript / With a / Transliteration of the / Manuscript of / The Fall of Hyperion / A Dream / With Introductions / And Notes by / Ernest de Sélincourt / Oxford / At the Clarendon Press / 1905
- 50 pp. (+27 pp. of facsimile); folio; 12.3×18.6 . An edition limited to 225 copies. The "transliteration" is of the Woodhouse Transcript (1834?) in the Crewe collection.
- 30. THE BROADWAY BOOKLETS / THE EVE OF ST. AGNES / BY / JOHN KEATS / [Device] / LONDON / GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LIMITED / NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & Co. [1905]; 46.
- 31. THE BROADWAY BOOKLETS / ISABELLA; / OR / THE POT OF BASIL / BY / JOHN KEATS / LONDON / GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & Sons, Ltd. / New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. [1905]; 64.
- 32. LA BELLE DAME SANS MERCI. / BY JOHN KEATS. / NEW YEAR, [Vignette] MCXXXXVI. / THE ERAGNY PRESS, THE BROOK, HAMMERSMITH
- 1906; 28; 4 × 2.9. Misprint on title-page: MCXXXXVI for MDCCCCVI.
- 33. Lamia / John Keats / Gowans & Gray Ltd. / 35 Leicester Square, London, W.C. / 58 Cadogan Street, Glasgow / 1906 32; 3.2 × 4; Cadogan Booklets.
- 34. ISABELLA: OR, THE POT / OF BASIL BY JOHN KEATS / WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY / PAUL HENRY / LONDON: JOHN LANE, THE BODLEY HEAD / NEW YORK: JOHN LANE COMPANY / MDCCCCVI 81 pp.
- 35. *"Sur une urne greque [sic] par John Keats et Anatole France. Décoration de Bellery-Desfontaines gravée par E. Florian, Froment et Perrichon. [A John Keats sur son ode On a Grecian urn, par

Anatole France. On a Grecian urn by John Keats. Traduction par Paul Hyacinthe Loyson]. Paris, Edouard Pelletan, 1907." xxiii pp.; illustrated. "Cette édition a été établie par Édouard Pelletan, avec le concours d'Anatole France, de Paul Hyacinthe Loyson, de Bellery-Desfontaines, d'Eugène Froment et de Perrichon. Tirée à cent soixante-quinze exemplaires, plus soixante exemplaires de présent." English and French on alternate pages. [Rome II]

36. Isabella or The Pot of Basil / By John Keats / with Illustrations by Jessie M. King / T. N. Foulis. Edinburgh and London

[1907]; 39; 3.5 × 6.5; the *Envelope Books*. *Also published (in 1908?) by G. W. Jacobs & Company, Philadelphia. [UC]

37. Eve of / St. Agnes / John / Keats / Thomas Y. Crowell / & Co. New York

[1908?]; 40; front. (port.) after Severn; the Verona Edition.

38. Lamia / John Keats / Thomas Y. Crowell / and Company / New York

[1908?]; 45; front. (port.) after Hilton; the Verona Edition.

39. John Keats / Unpublished Poem / To His Sister Fanny / April, 1818 / [Fanciful portraits] / Printed for Members only / The Bibliophile Society / Boston—1909

xxii; facsimile. An edition printed on vellum and limited to 489 copies. This poem, beginning "As young and pretty as the bud," is by John Hamilton Reynolds. It had appeared in the Examiner of June 14, 1818, signed J. H. R., and in Reynolds' Garden of Florence. See TLS, June 11, 1925, p. 400.

40. Maynard's English Classic Series.—No. 40. / The Eve of St. Agnes. / By / John Keats. / With Philological and Explanatory Notes / By / J. W. Hales, M.A. / . . . / New York: / Maynard, Merrill, & Co., / . . .

[1910]; 27.

41. THE EVE OF / SAINT AGNES / BY JOHN KEATS / LONDON THE ST CATHERINE PRESS / OSWALDESTRE HOUSE / NORFOLK STREET STRAND

1910; 21; the Arden Books.

- 42. Keats / The Eve of St. Agnes / London / Henry Frowde [1911]; n.p. [42]; front. (fanciful portrait); 2.3×3.7 .
- 43. John Keats / Isabella / With an Introduction by / Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch / and Notes by / M. Robertson / Oxford / At the Clarendon Press / 1914
 26 (alternate blank pages unnumbered).
- 44. Hyperion / A Fragment / By / John Keats / Edited with an Introduction / By / Margaret Robertson / and Notes and Appendixes / Oxford / At the Clarendon Press / 1914 xxx, 101. Reprinted several times.
- 45. THE EVE OF ST. AGNES / BY JOHN KEATS / ILLUSTRATED BY / E. M. CRAIG / LONDON / JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD.

1928; 55; the Helicon Series.

46. The / Eve of St. Agnes / John Keats / Robert Rivière & Son / London

N.d.; 79; 2.3×3.3 .

47. THE EVE OF ST AGNES / BY JOHN KEATS / [Illustration] / LONDON / JOHN BUMPUS

N.d.; n.p. Illustrations by Edmund Garnett.

E. Collected Letters

- 1. Vols. III and IV of *The Poetical Works and Other Writings*, H. B. Forman ed., 1883 (H1).
- 2. Vol. I of The Letters and Poems, J. G. Speed ed., 1883 (H2).
- 3. Vols. III and IV of The Poetical Works and Other Writings, H. B. Forman ed., 1889 (H3).
- 4. THE LETTERS / OF / JOHN KEATS / COMPLETE REVISED EDITION WITH A / PORTRAIT NOT PUBLISHED IN PREVIOUS / EDITIONS AND TWENTY-FOUR / CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF / PLACES VISITED BY KEATS. / EDITED BY H. BUXTON FORMAN / [Device] / LONDON / REEVES & TURNER 5 WELLINGTON STREET / STRAND / 1895 xviii, 522.
- 5. The Complete Poetical Works and Letters, Horace E. Scudder ed., 1899 (H4).
- 6. Vols. IV and V of The Complete Works, H. B. Forman ed., 1900-1 (H5 and 6).
- 7. Vol. IV of The Complete Works, N. H. Dole ed., 1906 (H7).
- 8. Letters of John Keats / Edited by / Nathan Haskell Dole / [Device] / Illustrated / London and Boston / Virtue & Company / Publishers
- 1906; vii, 294; Edition Magnifique. Limited to 500 copies. Text apparently the same as in the preceding.
- 9. Poems and Letters, Horace E. Scudder ed., 1925 (H8).
- 10. THE LETTERS OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY / MAURICE BUXTON FORMAN / VOLUME I [II] / HUMPHREY MILFORD / OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS / 1931
- lv, 607 (two volumes paged continuously); front. (port.).

11. THE LETTERS OF / JOHN KEATS / EDITED BY / MAURICE BUXTON FORMAN / SECOND EDITION / WITH REVISIONS / AND ADDITIONAL LETTERS / HUMPHREY MILFORD / OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS / 1935

lxix, 561; front. (ports.). The American edition has the same titlepage except for the last three lines: Oxford University Press / New York / 1935.

12. Vols. VI and VIJ of *The Works of John Keats*, H. Buxton Forman and Maurice Buxton Forman eds., 1938-9 (H9).

F. Selected Letters

1. Letters of John Keats / To Fanny Brawne / Written in the Years / MDCCCXIX and MDCCCXX / and now Given from / the Original Manu- / scripts with Intro- / duction and Notes by / Harry Buxton Forman / London Reeves & Turner / 196 Strand MDCCCLXXVIII / . . .

lxvii, 128; front. (port.) after Severn-Scott; silhouette; facsimile; 4 × 6.3.

- 2. The American edition of the preceding, published in New York by Scribner, Armstrong and Co.
- 3. The same title-page as F1, but: London Printed for Private / Circulation MDCCCLXXVIII / . . .

lxvii, 128; front. (port.) after Severn-Scott; silhouette; facsimile; 5.9 × 9. Of this limited edition two copies were printed on vellum and fifty on large hand-made paper.

- 4. The same as the preceding, but: lxvii, 120 (without index). A unique copy in the British Museum entirely on blue paper, except for the frontispiece. *A corresponding copy on pink paper was at the Loan Exhibition in Boston in 1921. [BC]
- 5. Title-page the same as F1.

lxxiii, 132; front. (port.) after Severn-Scott; silhouette; facsimile; 4×6.3 . This edition obviously should be dated 1888 or later, not 1878. (See dates in postscript to introduction.) Extra pages contain two newly found letters. The table of contents of the authentic 1878 editions is retained, to the confusion of the reader and the interest of the bibliographer.

6. Letters of / John Keats / To Fanny Brawne / [Device] / With Introduction & Notes / By H Buxton Forman /

SECOND EDITION / REVISED AND / ENLARGED / LONDON / REEVES & TURNER 196 STRAND / 1889

lxxiii, 132. Apparently the same as the preceding, except for the title-page and the substitution of a preface on pp. [v]-vi for the former note on p.[v]. The table of contents is also brought up to date.

- 7. Letters / Of / John Keats / To his Family and Friends / Edited by / Sidney Colvin / London / Macmillan and Co. / and New York / 1891 / ...
- xix, 377. Reprinted 1891; with additions (xix, 398), 1918, 1921, 1925, 1928. The letters to Fanny Brawne are consistently omitted.
- 8. Thoughts from / Keats / Selected from his Letters / By / P. E. Gertrude Girdlestone / with Portrait / London / George Allen, 156, Charing Cross Road / 1898 / ... xxvii, 141; front. (port.) after Severn.
- 9. LETTERS OF / JOHN KEATS / TO FANNY BRAWNE / WRITTEN IN THE YEARS / MDCCCXIX AND MDCCCXX / GEORGE BROUGHTON AND / BARCLAY DUNHAM / NEW YORK / MCMI xii, 116; front. (silhouette of Fanny Brawne); the Calumet Press. An edition limited to fifty copies on Japan vellum, 250 on handmade paper, and 700 on a special deckle-edge paper.
- 10. The Hull Booklets / IV / Sayings / From the Letters / of / John Keats / Hull / J. R. Tutin, Albert Avenue [1908]; 31.
- 11. Letters of / John Keats / T. N. Foulis / Edinburgh & London / MDCCCCVIII
- 89; 3.5×6 ; Holyrood Books.
- 12. Letters of John Keats / To Fanny Brawne / With three poems and / three additional letters / Introductory Notes by / J. F. Otten / [Device] / 1931 / The Halcyon Press / Maastricht / (Holland)
- 117; woodcut portrait by J. Buckland Wright; 5.75×9 .

- 13. Poems / By / John Keats / with Selections from his Letters / . . . / Edited by / C. W. Thomas / . . . 1932
 See I4.
- 14. John Keats / Complete Poems / and Selected / Letters / Edited by Clarence De Witt Thorpe / . . . (1935)
 See B132.

G. Miscellaneous Prose

- 1. Three Essays / By / John Keats / ... / London / Printed for Private Distribution / 1889
- 25 pp. An edition limited to fifty copies and printed at the Chiswick Press. The essays are the reviews of J. H. Reynolds' Peter Bell, of Retribution, and of Don Giovanni. See J12 and J16.
- 2. Photographic Reproduction of / Keats's / Anatomical and Physiological Note Book / presented to / The Hampstead Public Library / By / Sir William Hale-White / 1925 Pagination left as in the holograph.
- 3. John Keats's / Anatomical and Physiological / Note Book / Printed from the Holograph / In the Keats Museum / Hampstead / Edited by / Maurice Buxton Forman / Humphrey Milford / Oxford University Press / 1934
- xi, 68. An edition limited to 350 copies.

H. Collected Poetry and Prose

1. The Poetical Works / and Other Writings / of / John Keats / Now First Brought Together / Including Poems and Numerous Letters / Not Before Published / Edited / with Notes and Appendices / By / Harry Buxton Forman / [Device] In Four Volumes / Volume I [etc.] / London / Reeves & Turner 196 Strand / 1883

lv, 366, viii, 573, ix, 387, viii, 493; portraits; illustrations; the *Library Edition*. With a great wealth of supplementary material, especially early reviews and comment. A few sets were "Printed for Private Distribution," on untrimmed paper and bound in white linen decorated in gold.

16. Poetry and Prose / By / John Keats / A Book of Fresh Verses and New Readings—Essays / and Letters lately found—and Passages / formerly suppressed / Edited by H. Buxton Forman / [Device] / And Forming / A Supplement to the Library Edition of Keats's Works / London / Reeves & Turner 196 Strand / 1890

viii, 201; front. (port. of Reynolds) after Severn. A volume supplementary to the edition of 1883.

2. [General Title]: The Letters and Poems / of / John Keats. / In Three Volumes. / Vol. I. [etc.]

[Title, Vol. I]: The / Letters of John Keats / Edited by / Jno. Gilmer Speed / ... / New-York / Dodd, Mead & Company / 1883

[Title, Vols. II, III]: The / Poems of John Keats / With the Annotations of Lord Houghton / and a Memoir by / Jno. Gilmer Speed / . . . / Vol. I. [II.] / New-York / Dodd, Mead & Company / 1883

xv, 322, xxxi, 252, vii, 287; front. (port.) after Severn; illustrations.

3. The Poetical Works / And Other Writings / of / John Keats / Edited / With Notes and Appendices / By / H.

Buxton Forman / [Device] / In Four Volumes / Reissue with Additions and Corrections / . . . / London / Reeves & Turner 196 Strand / 1889

lv, 366, viii, 576, cxxii, 387, viii, 493; front. (port.). This is a reissue of the *Library Edition* of 1883, plus new material discovered in the intervening six years.

4. THE COMPLETE / POETICAL WORKS AND LETTERS OF / JOHN KEATS / CAMBRIDGE EDITION / [Portrait] / BOSTON AND NEW YORK / HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY / THE RIVERSIDE PRESS, CAMBRIDGE

1899; xxiv, 473; front. (port.); edited by Horace E. Scudder. This book also appears with a slightly different title-page as the *Students' Cambridge Edition*.

5. [General Title]: THE COMPLETE WORKS / OF / JOHN KEATS / IN FIVE VOLUMES / VOL. I [etc.]

[Title, Vol. I]: THE COMPLETE / WORKS OF / JOHN / KEATS / EDITED BY / H. BUXTON FORMAN / Vol. I. / POEMS PUBLISHED IN 1817 / ENDYMION / GOWANS & GRAY GLASGOW / DEC. 1ST 1900

[Title, Vol. II. Same but]: Vol. II. / Lamia Isabella &c. / Posthumous Poems to 1818 / . . . / Jan. 1st 1901

[Title, Vol. III. Same but]: Vol. III. / Posthumous Poems 1819-1820 / Essays & Notes. / . . . / Feb. 1st 1901

[Title, Vol. IV. Same but]: Vol. IV. / Letters 1814 to / January 1819 / . . . / Mar. 1st 1901

[Title, Vol. V. Same but]: Vol. V. / Letters 1819 / And 1820 / ... / Apr. 1st 1901

l, 208, vii, 243, ix, 291, xxxiv, 210, x, 269; the Complete Library. "In all essential matters this edition is the Library edition brought up to date," though it lacks the mass of supplementary material. It was "reprinted" more than twenty years later, the same in content and format and distinguished only by the presence of a second date at the foot of the old title-page; e.g. I, Nov., 1924; II, July, 1921; III, no second date; IV, March, 1923; V, March, 1923.

- 6. The American edition (1900-1?) of the preceding, with the same pagination, same title-pages (except without dates) but: New York / Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. / Publishers.
- 7. THE COMPLETE WORKS OF / JOHN KEATS / ENDYMION / AND OTHER POEMS / EDITED BY NATHAN HASKELL DOLE / [Device] / ILLUSTRATED / LONDON AND BOSTON / VIRTUE & COMPANY / PUBLISHERS

[Title, Vol. II. Same but]: LAMIA / AND OTHER POEMS.

[Title, Vol. III. Same but]: OTHO THE GREAT / THE CAP AND BELLS / AND OTHER POEMS.

[Title, Vol. IV. Same but]: LETTERS OF JOHN KEATS.

[1905-6]; xlix, 357, viii, 409, 275, vii, 294; the Laurel Edition. Limited to 1,000 copies. The first volume was entered for copyright Jan. 3, 1905, the others March 30, 1906.

- 8. Poems and Letters / of / John Keats / [Device] / Boston and New York / Houghton Mifflin Company / The Riverside Press Cambridge / 1925
- xiii, 473. Publishers' note: "This edition is printed from the plates of the Cambridge Edition, with the arrangement and notes of the editor, Mr. Horace E. Scudder, but without the Biographical Sketch of Keats which prefaced the original edition, this being thought unnecessary in a volume designed for use in connection with Miss Amy Lowell's biography of the poet." Cf. H4.
- 9. [General Title]: The Works of John Keats / Volume I [etc.] [Title, Vol. I]: The Poetical Works and Other Writings of / John Keats / Edited with Notes and Appendices by / H. Buxton Forman. Revised with / Additions by Maurice Buxton Forman / With an Introduction by John Masefield / [Picture of the Keats House, Hampstead, with the words: Hampstead / Edition] / Volume One / Poems 1817 / New York / Charles Scribner's Sons / MCMXXXVIII

[Title, Vol. II. Same but]: Volume Two / Endymion: A Poetic Romance 1818 / . . . / MCMXXXIX

[Title, Vol. III. Same but]: Volume Three / Lamia, Isabella, and Other Poems 1820

[Title, Vol. IV. Same but]: Volume Four / Posthumous and Fugitive Poems

[Title, Vol. V. Same but]: Volume Five / Otho, Stephen, The CAP AND Bells, / AND FUGITIVE PROSE

[Title, Vols. VI-VIII. Same but]: VOLUME SIX [etc.] / THE LETTERS (1815-1818) [etc.]

cxxviii, 155, vi, 284, x, 336, xii, 252, ix, 390, cxvi, 198, xiii, 308, xvii, 328; portraits; illustrations; facsimiles. This edition was limited to 1,050 sets, signed by John Masefield and Maurice Buxton Forman.

I. Selected Poetry and Prose

- 1. Life, / Letters, and Literary Remains, /.../ Edited by / Richard Monckton Milnes. /.../ 1848.

 II, pp. 114-306. Literary Remains. See 01 etc.
- 2. Poetry and Prose / . . . / A Book of Fresh Verses and New Readings . . . / 1890

See H16.

- 3. Keats / Poetry & Prose / With Essays by / Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt / Robert Bridges / & Others / With an Introduction and Notes by / Henry Ellershaw / Oxford / At the Clarendon Press / 1922
- xvi, 204; front. (port.) after Severn; the Clarendon Series of English Literature. Reprinted 1930, 1931.
- 4. Poems / By / John Keats / With Selections from his Letters / and from Criticism / Edited by / C. W. Thomas / ... / Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc. / New York 1932 x, 246. Includes criticism by De Sélincourt, Bridges, and Bradley.
- 5. Selections from / Keats / Poetry and Prose / Edited with an Introduction by John Earnshaw, M.A. / . . . / Methuen & Co. Ltd. / . . . / London 1934; viii, 216.
- 6. John Keats / Complete Poems / and Selected / Letters / Edited by Clarence De Witt Thorpe / . . . See B132.
- 7. KEATS / WITH FOUR COLOUR PLATES & EIGHTEEN BLACK / AND WHITE ILLUSTRATIONS / WILLIAM . COLLINS OF LONDON / MCMXXXXI
- 80 pp. A medley of poems, letters, biography, pictures, and facsimiles.

J. Periodicals, &c., Containing Writings of Keats, 1816-1821

(Excluding poems quoted in reviews, etc.; see K, below)

- 1. Examiner, May 5, 1816, p. 282.

 To Solitude by "J. K."; his first published work.
- 2. Ibid., Dec. 1, 1816, pp. 761-2.

"Young Poets" by Leigh Hunt, in praise of Shelley, Reynolds, and Keats. Here is published for the first time, as an indication of Keats' quality, On First Looking into Chapman's Homer, dated "Oct. 1816."

- 3. Ibid., Feb. 16, 1817, p. 107. First publication of To Kosciusko, signed "J. K." and dated "Dec. 1816."
- 4. Ibid., Feb. 23, 1817, p. 124.

 First publication of the sonnet "After dark vapours."
- 5. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1817, p. 155.

First publication of the two sonnets to Haydon on the Elgin Marbles.

6. Ibid., March 16, 1817, p. 173.

First publication of the sonnet On "The Floure and the Lefe," with a brief introductory note by Leigh Hunt.

- 7. Champion, Aug. 17, 1817. First publication of On the Sea.
- 8. Examiner, Sept. 21, 1817, p. 599.

"Two Sonnets on the Grasshopper and Cricket"; the first from Keats' *Poems*, the second by Leigh Hunt and not previously published.

9. Monthly Repository, Oct. 1817, p. 623.

Reprint of Keats' and Leigh Hunt's sonnets On the Grasshopper and Cricket.

- 10. Champion, Dec. 21, 1817, p. 405.
- "Dramatic Review, Mr. Kean." Keats' critique written at the request of J. H. Reynolds whose place on the *Champion* he filled for several weeks.
- 11. Ibid., Dec. 28, 1817, p. 413.

"Dramatic Review, Drury Lane Theatre. Richard Duke of York," and "Outwitted at Last."

12. Ibid., Jan. 4, 1818, pp. 10-11.

Keats' criticism of Retribution, or the Chieftain's Daughter (Covent Garden) and Don Giovanni (Drury Lane).

13. Annals of the Fine Arts, March 1818, pp. 171-2.

Reprint of the two sonnets to Haydon on the Elgin Marbles which had appeared in the Examiner a year before.

14. *Yellow Dwarf, May 9, 1818, p. 151.

Hymn to Pan, from Endymion. [Marsh and White]

15. The Literary Pocket-Book; or, Companion for the Lover of Nature and Art (Leigh Hunt, editor), 1819, p. 225.

First publication of The Human Seasons and To Ailsa Rock.

16. Examiner, April 25, 1819, p. 270.

Keats' review of J. H. Reynolds' Peter Bell, a Lyrical Ballad. Reynolds' parody on the solemn simplicities of Wordsworth was written and published, without any acquaintance with the authentic Peter, in the few days between his announcement in the press and his appearance before the world.

17. Annals of the Fine Arts, July 1819, pp. 354-6.

First publication of the Ode to a Nightingale, anonymous and signed with a dagger (†).

18. Ibid., Dec. 1819?, pp. 638-9.

First publication of Ode on a Grecian Urn, with signature as above.

19. Indicator, May 10, 1820, pp. 246-8.

First publication of *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, with Leigh Hunt's prefatory note on Alain Chartier. Keats is not mentioned, and the poem is signed "Caviare."

- 20. Ibid., June 28, 1820, pp. 300-3.
- "A Now, Descriptive of a Hot Day." In the first half of this burlesque-lofty description, apparently written by Leigh Hunt and Keats in collaboration, every sentence begins with "Now."
- 21. Ibid., p. 304.

First publication of A Dream, after Reading Dante's Episode of Paolo and Francesca. Signed "Caviare."

22. Literary Gazette, July 1, 1820, pp. 423-4.

Ode to a Nightingale, Lines on the Mermaid Tavern, and To Autumn, reprinted from Lamia, etc. in place of a review.

23. *London Chronicle, July 20, 21; 1820, p. 70.

Reprint of To Autumn. [Marsh and White]

24. Indicator, Aug. 23, 1820, pp. 367-8.

In an article on "Coaches" by Leigh Hunt, four and one-half stanzas of the unpublished *The Cap and Bells*, "by a new, and we are sorry to say a very good poetess, of the name of Lucy V—— L——, who has favoured us with a sight of a manuscript poem." Keats' pseudonym was to have been Lucy Vaughan Lloyd.

25. Atheneum (Boston), Sept. 15, 1820, p. 587.

Reprint of To Autumn.

26. Tickler Magazine, Feb. 1, 1821, pp. 37-8.

Reprint of two sonnets On the Grasshopper and Cricket by Keats and Leigh Hunt.

27. Ibid., Aug. 1, 1821, p. 162.

Reprint of To Solitude.

28. London Magazine (Taylor and Hessey's, formerly Baldwin's), Sept. 1821, p. 288.

Three and one-half stanzas from The Eve of St. Agnes.

29. Ibid., Nov. 1821, p. 526.

Reprint of "As Hermes once."

30. THE MONTHS / DESCRIPTIVE OF THE / SUCCESSIVE BEAUTIES OF THE YEAR / BY / LEIGH HUNT / . . . / LONDON / C & J OLLIER VERE STREET BOND STREET / 1821

136 pp.

Pp. 79, 103-4, 107-8. Quotations from On the Grasshopper and Cricket and the ode To Autumn.

K. Periodicals, &c., Containing Reviews, Criticism, Defence, 1816-1821

For this section and the preceding one I have used as a check-list the very thorough article by G. L. Marsh and N. I. White, "Keats and the Periodicals of His Time," Modern Philology, 32 (1934), pp. 37-53. As elsewhere, I have indicated with an asterisk articles which I have not seen. A few minor items listed by Marsh and White are omitted here; a few others which they overlooked or chose to leave out are added. See also N: Keats as Seen by His Contemporaries.

- 1. European Magazine, Oct. 1816, p. 365.
- G. F. M., To a Poetical Friend; a complimentary poem undoubtedly from George Felton Mathew to Keats. Reprinted by J. M. Murry, Studies in Keats, pp. 1-2.
- 2. Examiner, Dec. 1, 1816, pp. 761-2.

Praise by Leigh Hunt of Shelley, Reynolds, and Keats as young poets of promise.

3. Champion, March 9, 1817, p. 78.

A very favourable review of *Poems*, probably by J. H. Reynolds. Reprinted in *PMLA*, 1925, pp. 194-200; in the *London Mercury*, Feb. 1929, pp. 384-9; and in J. M. Murry, *Studies in Keats*, pp. 98-106. Keats' letter to Reynolds of the same day is presumably to thank him for this the earliest of the reviews.

4. Monthly Magazine, April 1817, p. 248.

A short, friendly notice of Poems.

5. European Magazine, May 1817, pp. 434-7.

Review by George Felton Mathew. Reprinted in part in the Atheneum (Boston), Oct. 1817, pp. 50-1.

6. Examiner, June 1, 1817, p. 345.

Leigh Hunt's review of *Poems*; continued on July 6, pp. 428-9, and July 13, pp. 443-4.

7. Champion, Aug. 3, 1817, p. 245.

A letter from "Pierre" in praise of Reynolds rather than Keats "whom my perverseness of taste forbids me to admire." *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, before quoting On the See: "The following sonnet is from the pen of Mr. Keats. It is quite the cient, we think, to justify all the praise we have given him, at the prove to our correspondent Pierre, his superiority over any portical writer in the Champion."

8. Eclectic Review, Sept. 1817, pp. 267-75.

Review of *Poems*, which show "immature promise of possible excellence," with a sermon on the evils of poetry devoid of sound thought.

9. Scots Magazine, Oct. 1817, pp. 254-7. Generally favourable notice.

10. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Oct. 1817, pp. 38-41.

"On the Cockney School of Poetry. No. I," by "Z" (J. G. Lockhart). This and other articles in the series begin with an epigraph from Cornelius Webb:

Our talk shall be (a theme we never tire on)
Of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakspeare, Milton, Byron,
(Our England's Dante)—Wordsworth—Hunt, and Keats,
The Muses' son of promise; and of what feats
He yet may do.

For Cornelius Webb, see Letters, pp. 61-2. Blackwood's was to continue to ridicule Keats until long after his death. The following examples may be cited for 1817-21 in addition to those listed below: Nov. 1817, p. 194; Jan. 1818, p. 415; July 1818, p. 455; Feb. 1819, p. 568; Nov. 1819, p. 194; March 1820, p. 629; Feb. 1821, p. 541; March 1821, pp. 673-5. For another supplementary list of observations in Blackwood's, see M1.

11. Quarterly Review, April 1818, pp. 204-8.

Croker's notorious review of *Endymion*. "This author is a copyist of Mr. Hunt; but he is more unintelligible, almost as rugged, twice as diffuse, and ten times more tiresome and absurd than his prototype..." This April issue of the *Quarterly* was evidently not out before September.

12. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, May 1818, pp. 196-201.

In a "Letter from Z [J.G. Lockhart] to Leigh Hunt, King of the Cockneys," there are numerous contemptuous references to Keats. "...that magnificent chamber of yours at Lisson Grove, where, [the] amiable but infatuated bardling, Mister John Keats, slept on the night he composed his famous Cockney Poem [to Leigh Hunt]."

13. Literary Journal, May 17, 1818, pp. 114-15.

Review of *Endymion*; continued on May 24, p. 131. "With the exception of two passages we are induced to give our most unqualified approbation of this poem."

14. *Oxford Herald, June 6, 1818. •

Benjamin Bailey's review of Endymion.

15. Champion, June 7, 1818, pp. 362-4.

Very favourable review, completed in the next day's issue of the paper.

16. British Critic, June 1818, pp. 649-54.

The most destructive and jocular of all the reviews of *Endymion*, with carefully selected quotations to prove the author a third-rate Leigh Hunt.

17. Ibid., July 1818, pp. 90-6.

Scornful review of Leigh Hunt's Foliage, with passing notice of Keats on pp. 94-5.

18. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Aug. 1818, pp. 519-24.

The infamous "Cockney School of Poetry. No. IV" by J. G. Lockhart, his review of *Poems*, 1817, and *Endymion*. "The phrenzy of the "Poems" was bad enough in its way; but it did not alarm us half so seriously as the calm, settled, imperturbable drivelling idiocy of "Endymion." . . . so back to the shop Mr John, back to "plasters, pills, and ointment boxes," &c. But, for Heaven's sake, young Sangrado, be a little more sparing of extenuatives and soporifics in your practice than you have been in your poetry."

19. Morning Chronicle, Oct. 3, 1818.

A letter from "J. S." protesting against the attack on *Endymion* in the *Quarterly Review*, and asserting that there are many excellences in the poem; "of John Keats I know nothing..." This letter was reprinted in part in the *Examiner*, Oct. 11, p. 648. See also *Letters*, pp. 220-1. "J. S." may have been John Scott, editor of the *London Magazine*, and afterwards killed in a duel over the "Cockney School" articles.

20. *Alfred, West of England Journal and General Advertiser, Oct. 6, 1818.

"Keats and the Quarterly Review," by J. H. Reynolds. Reprinted in the Examiner, Oct. 12, 1818, pp. 648-9.

21. Morning Chronicle, Oct. 8, 1818.

Letter of "R. B." from the "Temple, Oct. 3, 1818" protesting the treatment of Keats in the *Quarterly Review* and quoting passages of *Endymion* in defence. Reprinted in part in *Letters*, p. 222.

22. Examiner, Oct. 12, 1818, pp. 648-9.

Reference to the letter of "J. S." in the Morning Chronicle and a reprint of the defence in the Alfred, West of England Journal.

23. Ibid., Nov. 2, 1818, p. 696.

Reprint of a defence of Endymion in the Chester Guardian.

24. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Jan. 1819, p. 476.

In a review of *The Revolt of Islam:* "Hunt and Keats, and some others of the School, are indeed men of considerable cleverness, but as poets, they are worthy of sheer and instant contempt..." Scornful references to "Johnny Keats" appear elsewhere in the article.

25. *Literary Journal, March 20, 1819, p. 192.

Burlesque poem on the Cockneys by "Beppo," with scoffing references to "K——." [Marsh and White]

26. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, April 1819, pp. 97-100.

"On the Cockney School of Poetry. No. V." Not much specifically aimed at Keats, but a great deal at Leigh Hunt's friends in general.

27. Ibid., Oct. 1819, pp. 70-6.

"On the Cockney School of Poetry. No. VI"; a jocular review of Leigh Hunt's *Foliage*, with occasional ridicule of Keats, especially as a subject of Hunt's poetry.

28. *Ibid.*, Dec. 1819, pp. 235-47.

In a review of Leigh Hunt's Literary Pocket-Book by Christopher North there are numerous scoffing references to "Johnny Keats." On p. 239: "Two Sonnets, with the signature I., we opine to be the property of the "Muse's Son of Promise,"—"two feats of Johnny Keates."" He then quotes The Human Seasons and To Ailsa Rock. "Mister John Keates standing on the sea-shore at Dunbar, without a neckcloth, according to custom of Cockaigne, and cross-questioning the Craig of Ailsa!... Do not let John Keates think we dislike him. He is a young man of some poetry; but at present he has not more than about a dozen admirers,-Mr Leigh Hunt whom he feeds on the oil-cakes of flattery till he becomes flatulent of praise,— Mr Benjamin Haydon, who used to laugh at him till that famous sonnet—three engrossing clerks—and six or seven medical students, who chaunt portions of Endymion as they walk the hospitals, because the author was once an apothecary. We alone like him and laugh at him. He is at present a very amiable, silly, lisping, and pragmatical young gentleman—but we hope to cure him of all that—and should have much pleasure in introducing him to our readers in a year or two speaking the language of this country, counting his fingers correctly, and condescending to a neckcloth." It may be worth mentioning that John Taylor, on first meeting Keats in March 1817, seems to have been taken aback by his "singular style of dress." See Edmund Blunden, Keats's Publisher, pp. 41-2.

29. Common Sense: / A Poem. / . . . / Edinburgh: / Printed For David Brown, / South St. Andrew's Street. / 1819. viii, 53. By Charles H. Terrot.

Plain common sense, but no ecstatic feats, And rhymes at least as good as Mister Keates'.* (p. 1)

[Note]: "*Mr. John Keates, the muse's child of promise, is a rising poet of the Cockney School, who, if he had but an ear for rhyme, a little knowledge of grammar, and sufficient intellect to distinguish sense from nonsense, might perhaps do very well." There are several other scornful references to Keats, as a disciple of Leigh Hunt.

30. Eclectic Review, Jan. 1820, p. 85.

In a review of the preceding, the two lines given above are quoted.

30a. Dublin Magazine, March 1820, p. 228.

In a review of Barry Cornwall's A Sicilian Story etc., a scoffing reference is made to the Cockney poets and Endymion.

31. London Magazine (Baldwin's), April 1820, pp. 380-9.

Review of *Endymion* and reply to the *Quarterly*, with numerous quotations to illustrate the pictorial beauty of the poem, its analogies with great painting.

32. Monthly Magazine, June 1820, p. 447.

In a brief notice of Barry Cornwall's A Sicilian Story: "In a few passages we observe rather too strong a resemblance to the Endymion of Mr. Keates, who is the precursor of Mr. C. in the

mythological and classical style of poetry, engrafted on that of the present age."

33. Ibid., p. 439.

Advance notice of Lamia, etc. See also in the July issue, pp. 549, 559.

34. Monthly Review, July 1820, pp. 305-10.

Review of Lamia, etc. It contains "the ore of true poetic genius, though mingled with a large portion of dross."

35. New Times, July 19, 1820.

Charles Lamb's review of Lamia, etc. Reprinted in the Examiner, July 30, p. 494.

36. Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review, July 29, 1820, pp. 484-5.

Brief review of *Lamia*, etc. "We confess this volume has disappointed us; from Mr. Keats's former productions we had augured better things ... let him avoid coining new words, and give us the English language as it is taught and written in the nineteenth century..."

37. *Indicator*, Aug. 2, 1820, pp. 337-44 and Aug. 9, pp. 345-52. Leigh Hunt's review of *Lamia*, etc.

38. *Guardian, Aug. 6, 1820.

Scoffing review of Lamia, etc. [Marsh and White]

39. Edinburgh Review, Aug. 1820, pp. 203-13.

Francis Jeffrey's review of both *Endymion* and *Lamia*, etc. He was "exceedingly struck with the genius they display, and the spirit of poetry which breathes through all their extravagance."

40. Scots Magazine, Aug. 1820, pp. 107-10.

Defensive review of *Endymion*. "Mr Keats is a poet of high and undoubted powers. He has evident peculiarities, which some of

the London critics, who are averse to his style, have seized upon and produced as fair specimens of his writings..." The Scots Magazine was, no doubt, referring to those London critics, Lockhart and Christopher North of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

41. London Magazine (Gold's), Aug. 1820, pp. 160-73.

Review of Lamia, etc., and another counterblast to the Quarterly.

42. Retrospective Review, Aug. 1820, pp. 185-206.

Review of Wallace's Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature, and Providence. Brief mention of Keats on p. 204: "Keats, whose Endymion was so cruelly treated by the critics, has just put forth a volume of poems which must effectually silence his deriders." This review was reprinted in the Literary and Scientific Repository (New York), 1821, pp. 150-70.

43. Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review, Aug. 26, 1820, pp. 554-5.

"Infallible Rules to Become a Poet," by "Cantab." There is no direct reference here to Keats, but the tone is reminiscent of earlier ridicule of his rhymes. A sonnet "may be pure Italian or simply Cockneyish. These words must never be omitted, and always rhyme: viz. morn, dawn; charm, balm; . . . rhyme on, Cymon: thus a sonnet may be executed."

44. New Monthly Magazine, Sept. 1, 1820, pp. 245-8.

Review of *Lamia*, etc. "... if he proceeds in the high and pure style which he has now chosen, he will attain an exalted and lasting station among English poets." Reprinted in the *Atheneum* (Boston), Nov. 1, 1820, pp. 120 [for 116]-120.

45. Ibid., pp. 304-10.

"Modern Periodical Literature." On p. 306 the Quarterly is particularly condemned: "But perhaps its worst piece of injustice was its laborious attempt to torture and ruin Mr. Keats, a poet then of extreme youth...." This article was reprinted in the Atheneum (Boston), Nov. 1, 1820, pp. 102-[9].

46. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Sept. 1820, pp. 663-7.

"Extracts from Mr. Wastle's Diary. No. III." More ridicule of Leigh Hunt and his friends. "It is a pity that this young man, John Keats, author of Endymion, and some other poems, should have belonged to the Cockney school—for he is evidently possessed of talents that, under better direction, might have done very considerable things.... What in the name of wonder tempts all these fellows to write on *Greek* fables.... There is much merit in some of the stanzas of Mr Keats' last volume, which I have just seen; no doubt he is a fine feeling lad—and I hope he will live to despise Leigh Hunt, and be a poet."

47. Ibid., pp. 675-9.

The Building of the Palace of the Lamp, a satiric poem on the "Cockneys" and contributors to "John Scott's Magazine," with passing gibes at "Johnny Keats."

48. Ibid., pp. 686-7.

In a review of Shelley's *Prometheus*, etc.: "As for Mr Keats, we are informed that he is in a very bad state of health, and that his friends attribute a great deal of it to the pain he has suffered from the critical castigation his Endymion drew down on him in this magazine." The writer coolly claims that it was all intended for Keats' good, but soon works himself into another passion of snobbery and political malice against Leight and all his friends beneath the rank of baronet.

49. British Critic, Sept. 1820, pp. 257-64.

A review of Lamia, etc. The writer admits that the British Critic's earlier review, of Endymion, was less than that, still finds Keats' language distasteful, but gives high praise to parts of Hyperion. "Mr. Keats is really a person of no ordinary genius... if he will only have the good sense to take advice, making Spenser or Miltonhis model of poetical diction, instead of Mr. Leigh Hunt, he need not despair..."

50. Monthly Magazine, Sept. 1820, p. 166.

A brief review of Lamia, etc., largely favourable.

51. Eclectic Review, Sept. 1820, pp. 158-71.

Review of *Lamia*, etc. After some half-hearted praise: "... he has produced verses which, if we mistake not, will not live very long, though they will live as long as they deserve."

52. London Magazine (Baldwin's), Sept. 1820, pp. 315-21.

A thorough and unprejudiced review of Lamia, etc., combining a reply to Keats' detractors with a friendly analysis of both his excellences and his faults. Reprinted in Saturday Magazine (Philadelphia), Nov. 10, 1821, pp. 449-52 and Nov. 17, pp. 460-5. There had been a brief reference to Keats and Adonais in this American journal, Oct. 20, 1821, p. 372.

53. Indicator, Sept. 20, 1820, pp. 399-400.

Leigh Hunt's somewhat florid farewell to Keats on his departure for Italy.

54. Dejeuné, Oct. 27, 1820, pp. 44-8.

The Literary Assize Court, by "G."

By Endymion, who in truth,
Was a lazy sleeping youth;
By Laura, Isabel, and the Eve
Of Fair St. Agnes (how I grieve
To think the work will never sell)....

There is also much ridicule of Leigh Hunt who "climbed the grassy top [of Primrose-hill, his Mount Helicon] every Sunday with little Johnny, who ever as they went kept singing, nonny, nonny."

55. Scots Magazine, Oct. 1820, pp. 313-16.

Review of Lamia, etc. The volume contains "as much absolute poetry as the works of any contemporary writer."

56. Eclectic Review, Nov. 1820, pp. 323-33.

Review of Barry Cornwall's A Sicilian Story and incidental comparisons with Keats.

57. London Magazine (Gold's), Dec. 1820, pp. 559-61.

In an "Essay on Poetry, with Observations on the Living Poets," a defence of Keats with quotation of Robin Hood,—To a Friend.

58. London Magazine (Baldwin's), Dec. 1820, p. 628.

In the course of comment on *Patronage: a Poem:* "Keats has been bitterly assailed, but he has also been gallantly supported.... But whatever his pecuniary profits may have been, we apprehend Mr. Keats would not feel either proud or pleased, if a Lord were to send him a five-pound-note, accompanying it with a recommendation to consider Mr. Pope's system of versification as a standard...."

59. Ibid., pp. 666-85.

"The Mohock Magazine," giving Blackwood's a taste of its own medicine. On pp. 681-3 there are references to the treatment of Keats. This article, by John Scott, the editor, resulted in the duel with Lockhart's representative in which Scott was mortally wounded.

60. Ibid., p. 686.

In a foot-note to the "Dramatic Review" the writer exhibits equal distaste for Keats and for his Scottish detractors. "Indeed it has been remarked that Mr. Keats resembles Shakespeare in the novelty and eccentricity of his combinations of style. If so, it is the only thing in which he is like Shakespeare..." Then after a reference to Sir Walter Scott and J. G. Lockhart, "Oh Scotland, judge of England, What a treasure hast thou in one fair son, and one fair son-in-law, neither of whom (by all accounts) thou lovest passing well!"

61. Ibid., Feb. 1821, pp. 128-34.

W. Hazlitt, "Table Talk. No. VII, On Reading Old Books." On p. 132 there is a brief comment on *The Eve of St. Agnes* as the romantic poetry of youth.

62. Morning Chronicle, March 22, 1821.

A notice of Keats' death. See also Gentleman's Magazine, March

1821, p. 282; Monthly Repository, March 1821, p. 181; Monthly Magazine, May 1821, p. 396; Annual Register, 1821, p. 232.

63. *Literary Chronicle, March 31, 1821, p. 206.

Verses to the Memory of John Keats the Poet, by "P." [Marsh and White]

- 64. Arliss Pocket Magazine, 1821, pp. 333-8.
- J. W. Dalby, "Remarks on the Character and Writings of the Late John Keats, the Poet," dated April 4, 1821.
- 65. London Magazine (Baldwin's), April 1821, pp. 426-7. Notable article by "L" on the "Death of Mr. John Keats."
- 66. Ibid., May 1821, p. 526.

 Sonnet, on the Death of the Poet J. Keats ("And art thou dead?").
- 67. New Monthly Magazine, May 1821, pp. 256-7... Notice of Keats' death and a friendly estimate of his genius.
- 68. Gossip, May 19, 1821, p. 96.

Three stanzas by "G. V. D.," On Reading Lamia, and Other Poems, by John Keats. Friendly comment on Keats is also to be found in the issues of April 14, p. 54; May 19, p. 92; July 7, p. 145; and Aug. 4, p. 182.

69. London Magazine (Taylor and Hessey's, formerly Baldwin's), July 1821, pp. 58-9.

In a review of A Garden of Florence, etc., reference to the intended collaboration of Keats and Reynolds in a series of adaptations from Boccaccio.

70. Morning Chronicle, July 27, 1821.

Defence of "John Keats, the Poet," by "his School-fellow and Friend" "Y" (probably Charles Cowden Clarke). For a quotation from this article, see N8.

71. London Literary Gazette, Dec. 8, 1821, pp. 772-3.

Anonymous review of *Adonais* with tirade against Keats. "But death, even the death of the radically presumptuous profligate, is a serious thing; and as we believe that Keats was made presumptuous chiefly by the treacherous puffing of his cockney fellow gossips, and profligate in his poems merely to make them saleable, we regret that he did not live long enough to acquire common sense..."

72. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Dec. 1821, pp. 696-700.

Review of Adonais, criticism of Keats as a third-rate Della Cruscan, and a parody of Shelley's poem.

Weep for my Tomcat! all ye Tabbies weep, For he is gone at last! Not dead alone, In flowery beauty sleepeth he no sleep; Like that bewitching youth Endymion!...

This is by William Maginn; see his Miscellanies (London, 1885), II, p. 310.

73. Imperial Magazine, Dec. 1821, columns 1076-80.

"On the Neglect of Genius" by "M. M." of Acton Place. The author was apparently acquainted with Haydon and Clare, as well as with Keats.

74. London Magazine (Taylor and Hessey's), Dec. 1821, p. 641.

In an essay "Leisure Hours. No. IV," brief commendation of Keats and quotation of nine lines from *Endymion*.

L. Periodicals, Anthologies, &c. Containing Writings by Keats, 1822-1847

1. New Monthly Magazine, IV (1822), pp. 47-8.

Stanzas on Some Skulls in Beauley Abbey, near Inverness, by "S. Y." Apparently this poem was written by Keats and Brown in collaboration, and is here first printed. Brown signed his own articles in this magazine, "S."

2. Ibid., pp. 247-52.

"Mountain Scenery," by "S." (C. A. Brown). The essay is based on the Scottish tour with Keats, and part of his *Lines written in the Highlands* is quoted.

3. Ibid., V (1822), pp. 47-8.

Love and Folly, a poem by "S. Y." It seems probable, from internal evidence and from the signature, that this poem, like L1 above, is by Keats and Brown. See R247.

4. Examiner, July 14, 1822, p. 445.

Quotes at length the Lines written in the Highlands and deplores the incomplete version printed in the New Monthly Magazine.

5. Time's Telescope for 1822, pp. 12-13.

In the article for Jan. 21: "On this day, some silly women fast all day, and take care that they do not touch, or are touched by, a male, in order that they may dream of their lovers at night. Many other kinds of divination are practised by our rustic damsels, for the same purpose. See the preceding volumes of T.T.— On this innocent superstition the late Mr. Keats has founded his beautiful poem of 'The Eve of St. Agnes.'" Three passages of the poem are quoted with brief comment.

Ibid., pp. 40-3. Appreciative account of Keats and quotation of "Happy is England" and Ode to a Nightingale. "We must leave

to time (while it hallows his memory) to do justice to the reputation of Keats." This was reprinted (in part) in the *Atheneum* (Boston), March 1, 1822, pp. 440-1.

6. Retrospective Review, VII (1823), p. 403.

In an article on "The Poems of Shakespeare," his sonnets are compared with those of later masters of the form including Keats whose On First Looking into Chapman's Homer is quoted.

7. Flora Domestica, / or / The Portable Flower-Garden; / with / Directions for the Treatment of / Plants in Pots; / and / Illustrations from the Works of the Poets. / . . . / London: / Printed for Taylor and Hessey, / . . . / 1823.

xxxiv, 396. This handbook of English flowers, interspersed with appropriate quotations from the poets, is an attractive and sensible book (in spite of the title), written by Mrs. Elizabeth Kent, a sister-in-law of Leigh Hunt, and issued by the publishers of Keats' two later volumes. It contains nineteen passages from Keats' poems.

- 8. The / Beauties of the Poets, / Lyric and Elegaic, / Selected / from the Most Admired Authors. / By / James Ely Taylor. /... / London: /... / 1824.
 x, 316.
- P. 305. On the Grasshopper and Cricket. There is also a poem On the Death of J. Keats on p. 309.
- 9. Select / British Poets, / or / New Elegant Extracts / FROM / CHAUCER TO THE PRESENT TIME; / WITH / CRITICAL REMARKS. / By WILLIAM HAZLITT. / . . . / LONDON: / PUBLISHED BY WM. C. HALL, AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS. / 1824.

xxii, 822; portraits. This rare edition, which included living poets, was soon suppressed, and the volume republished in the next year to extend down to Burns only. It includes (pp. 760-70) part of Endymion, The Eve of St. Agnes, Ode to a Nightingale, Fancy, Robin Hood, and part of Hyperion. There is also the following comment on p. xv: "Mr. Keats is also dead. He gave the greatest

promise of genius of any poet of his day. He displayed extreme tenderness, beauty, originality and delicacy of fancy; all he wanted was manly strength and fortitude to reject the temptations of singularity in sentiment and expression. Some of his shorter and later pieces are, however, as free from faults as they are full of beauties."

- 10. SYLVAN SKETCHES; / OR, / A COMPANION / TO / THE PARK AND THE SHRUBBERY: / WITH / SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF THE POETS. / BY THE AUTHOR OF THE / FLORA DOMESTICA. / . . . / LONDON: / PRINTED FOR TAYLOR AND HESSEY, / . . . / 1825.
- xliv, 408. This book, which is arranged on the same plan as *Flora Domestica* (L7), contains eight brief passages from Keats. It was reissued in 1831 by Whittaker, Treacher, and Co.
- 11. THE POETICAL ALBUM: / OR / REGISTER OF MODERN FUGITIVE POETRY, / EDITED BY / ALARIC A. WATTS. / LONDON: / PUBLISHED BY HURST, ROBINSON & Co.; / AND A. CONSTABLE & Co. EDINBURGH. / 1825
- xvi, 395. A second title-page is also found with the imprint: Hurst, Chance & Co. / . . . / 1828.
- P. 167. To Ailsa Rock. This sonnet had appeared in Hunt's Literary Pocket-Book, 1819 (J15). P. 202. Sonnet on the Death of the Poet Keats. This is the sonnet which was published in Baldwin's London Magazine, May 1821, p. 526.
- 12. THE / EVERY-DAY BOOK, / AND / TABLE BOOK; / ... / BY WILLIAM HONE. / ... / IN THREE VOLUMES. / VOL. I. [etc.] / LONDON: / PRINTED FOR WILLIAM TEGG and Co., 73, CHEAPSIDE; /
- 1826; viii, 1720 (columns); 1827; viii, 1712; 860, 888.
- I, col. 136-40. For Jan. 20, an account of the superstitions of St. Agnes' eve and selections from Keats' poem. I, col. 892, four lines from On the Grasshopper and Cricket. II, col. 249-54. For Feb. 23, a note on Keats' death, and the Ode to a Nightingale, written "in prospect of departure from his native shores." III, Pt. 1, col. 810. Three stanzas of the Ode to a Nightingale. See also N15.

13. The / Living Poets / of England / ... / Vol. I. [II.] / Paris, / Printed for L. Baudry, / ... / Bobée et Hingray ... / A. et W. Galignani, Rue Vivienne. / 1827.

xxxv, 548, 620.

- II, pp. 563-4. "An Essay on Keats's Poetry." II, pp. 565-92. Selections from *Endymion*, and *The Eve of St. Agnes*, *Ode to a Nightingale*, and *Fancy*.
- 14. Specimens/of the Lyrical, Descriptive, and/Narrative/Poets of Great Britain, / from Chaucer to the Present Day:/.../By John Johnstone,/.../Edinburgh:/Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale-Court./1828.

xv, 560.

- Pp. 419-23. A note on Keats and a passage from Hyperion.
- 15. Philadelphia Monthly Magazine, Sept. 15, 1828. See M24.
- 16. Philadelphia Album, Oct. 15, 1828. See M25.
- 17. The Beauties of the British Poets. / . . . / By the Rev. George Croly. / Published by R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside; / and Sold by L. B. Seeley and Sons, / Fleet Street, London. / MDCCCXXV,III.

xv, 367.

- Pp. 330-42. To Autumn, Ode to a Nightingale, Robin Hood, and parts of Hyperion and Isabella.
- 18. The / British Poets / of / the Nineteenth Century. / ... / Printed by and for H. L. Broenner. / 1828.

xx, 776.

- Pp. 767-76. The Eve of St. Agnes, Ode to a Nightingale, Fancy, selections from Endymion.
- 19. Thoughts, / Selected from / The Ancient and Modern Poets. / . . . Boston, / Hilliard, Gray, Little and Wilkins. / MDCCCXXVIII.
- 258 pp. A few lines from Keats on p. 185.

20. THE GEM, / A LITERARY ANNUAL, / EDITED BY THOMAS HOOD, Esq. / . . . / LONDON: / W. MARSHALL, 1, HOLBORN BARS. / 1829.

324 pp.

- P. 108. First publication of On a Picture of Leander. It was reprinted soon after in the Galignani edition of the poems.
- 21. London Literary Gazette, Sept. 19, 1829, p. 618.

First publication of "In a drear-nighted December." This poem also appeared in the Galignani edition of the poems, in the Gem (1830), and in the New Monthly Magazine at about the same time.

- 22. THE / CASQUET / OF / LITERARY GEMS. / EDITED BY ALEX. WHITELAW. / ... / FIRST SERIES. IN TWO VOLUMES. / VOLUME I. / GLASGOW: / BLACKIE, FULLARTON, & Co.; / ... / MDCCCXXIX. xii, 386. Selections from Keats on pp. 25, 112, 276.
- 23. New Monthly Magazine, XXVI (1829), p. 485.

Reprint of "In a drear-nighted December" from the Gem (1830), in a review of the season's crop of annuals. See L26.

xvi, 396. A second title-page is dated 1830.

P. 221. To Autumn. On pp. 313-15 there is printed "To Fanny B., Aged Three Years. By J. H. Reynolds, Esq.," a poem that was to be published on vellum in a limited edition eighty years later as by Keats to Fanny Brawne. See D39.

25. Time's Telescope for 1830, pp. 53-4.

In the article for Jan. 20 (St. Agnes' eve), two and a half stanzas of Keats' poem, with comment on the superstition. "This custom, however, is now almost unknown, and probably, very little would

have been recollected in the nineteenth century, had not the talented and unfortunate Keats made it the subject of his sweet and original poem."

- 25a. American Monthly Magazine, Sept. 1830, pp. 417-19. This number prints, as submitted by a correspondent, excerpts from Isabella and To Autumn; the latter is said to begin: "Season of waste and mellow fruitfulness." In August (pp. 353-5) the editor had "long been trying unsuccessfully to get a volume of Keats's Poems." By June 1831 (pp. 211-12), having obtained a copy of the Galignani edition, he reprints the Ode to a Nightingale.
- 26. THE GEM, / A LITERARY ANNUAL. / ... / LONDON: W. MARSHALL, 1, HOLBORN BARS. / MDCCCXXX. xi, 275.
- P. 80. Reprint of "In a drear-nighted December." This volume, like other annuals, was published several months before the beginning of the year given on the title-page.
- 27. THE LAUREL / FUGITIVE POETRY / OF THE / XIXTH CENTURY. / LONDON: / PUBLISHED BY JOHN SHARPE, PICCADILLY. / MDCCCXXX.
- xii, 368. Contains three selections from Keats: pp. 81-3, Ode to a Nightingale; p. 137, from Endymion; and p. 205, Lines on the Mermaid Tavern.
- 28. THE COMIC ANNUAL. / BY THOMAS HOOD, Esq. / [Illustration]/LONDON: / HURST, CHANCE, AND CO. / MDCCCXXX.

xvi, 174; illustrations.

- P. 14. First publication of To a Cat.
- 29. THE / COMMON-PLACE BOOK / OF / POETRY / OR / BRITISH MINSTRELSY; /.../LONDON /.../1830.
 xii, 420.
- P. 371. Ode to a Nightingale.

30. The Lotus / or the / Faery Flower of the Poets. / . . . / Edinburgh. / George A. Douglas 19 Castle Street. / London, Simpkin & Marshall. / Dublin, J. Cumming. / MDCCCXXX.

v, 183.

- P. 159. Ode to a Nightingale.
- 31. The / Book of the Seasons; /.../By William Howitt. / .../Philadelphia: Carey & Lea Chestnut Street. / 1831. xxi, 312. Quotations from Keats on pp. 119, 224, 231.
- 32. Adventures / of / A Younger Son. / ... / In Three Volumes. / Vol. I. [etc.] / London: / Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, / New Burlington Street. / 1831.
- 333, 341, 338. Trelawny used quotations from Keats, Shelley, and Byron as chapter-headings. There are passages from Endymion (18), Hyperion (7), Lamia (4), The Eve of St. Agnes (3), Isabella, the Ode to a Nightingale, To Charles Cowden Clarke, and the sonnet To My Brother George (1 each). More interesting are the numerous quotations from poems previously unpublished, from Otho the Great (12), from King Stephen (4), and from The Cap and Bells (2), which C. A. Brown supplied from the Keats MSS. in his possession. Cf. N50.
- 33. Specimens / of / English Sonnets / Selected by / The Rev. Alexander Dyce / London / William Pickering / 1833 viii, 224.
- P. 205. On First Looking into Chapman's Homer.
- 34. Readings in Poetry: / A Selection from the / Best English Poets, / from / Spenser to the Present Times; /... London: / John W. Parker, West Strand. / MDCCCXXXIII.
- Pp. 360-4. A brief note on Keats and the Ode to a Nightingale and Robin Hood.

- 34a. Adam, The Gardener. / By / Charles Cowden Clarke, / ... / London: / Published by Effingham Wilson, / ... / 1834.
- vi, 279. This story for boys contains several references to "our friend Keats," and two quotations from his poems.
- 35. Leigh Hunt's London Journal, July 23, 1834, p. 132.
- "A 'Now,' Descriptive of a Hot Day"; this had appeared in the *Indicator*, June 28, 1820 (J20).
- 36. Ibid., Aug. 20, 1834, p. 163.

Brief quotations from Keats. So also: *ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1834, p. 246; Dec. 3, 1834, p. 281; and Supplement to Part I, p. x.

37. Ibid., Jan. 21, 1835, pp. 17-20.

Quotation in full of The Eve of St. Agnes with interspersed appreciative comment.

38. The / Young Man's Book / of / Elegant Poetry; /.../ Philadelphia: / Key & Biddle, 23 Minor Street. / 1835.
320 pp.

Pp. 261-2. Robin Hood.

39. The / Young Lady's Book / of / Elegant Poetry; / . . . / By the Author of / "The Young Man's Own Book." / Philadelphia: / Key & Biddle, 23 Minor Street. / 1835. 320 pp.

Pp. 314-15. To Autumn.

40. A Collection / of / English Sonnets. / By Robert Fletcher Housman, Esq. / . . . / London: / Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., Stationers' Hall Court. / Lancaster: L. W. Willan [1835]; xxxiii, 358.

Pp. 188-90. On First Looking into Chapman's Homer, On the Grasshopper and Cricket, and On "The Floure and the Lefe."

41. Western Messenger, June 1836, p. 763.

First publication of the Ode to Apollo ("God of the golden bow"), "presented to the Editor [James Freeman Clark] by the Poet's brother." Ibid., pp. 772-7. "Winander Lake and Mountains, and Ambleside Fall. By John Keats." Extracts from Keats' journal-letter to his brother, with general remarks on his poetry. Ibid., July 1836, pp. 820-3. "Icolmkill, Staffa, and Fingal's Cave. By John Keats." More from the journal-letter with quotation of the lines on Staffa.

42. Ladies' Companion, Aug. 1837, pp. 186-7.

Reminiscences of George Keats in Louisville, Ky., by "H. P." (John Howard Payne) and transcriptions of four poems from MSS. in George Keats' possession: "As Hermes once," "Fame, like a wayward girl," "Hither, hither, love," and "'Tis the witching hour of night." The last three poems are here published for the first time.

43. The / Book of Gems. / . . . / Edited by S. C. Hall / London / Whittaker & Co. Ave Maria Lane / 1838

xvi, 304. The two earlier volumes of this three-volume anthology were published in 1836 and 1837.

Pp. 120-7. Biographical account of Keats and five poems or selections.

44. THE NATIONAL: A LIBRARY FOR THE PEOPLE / EDITED BY W. J. LINTON. / . . . / LONDON: / J. WATSON . . . / 1839. viii, 368.

Pp. 60, 100, 271-3. Selections from Isabella and Endymion.

45. THE SEER; / OR, / COMMON-PLACES REFRESHED. / BY LEIGH HUNT. / IN TWO PARTS: / PART I. [II.] / . . . / LONDON: / EDWARD MOXON, DOVER STREET. / MDCCCXL.

viii, 87, iv, 79 (double columns).

II, pp. 12-18. Reprint of The Eve of St. Agnes with critical comment from Leigh Hunt's London Journal (L37).

46. Selections / from / The British Poets. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. [II.] / New York: / Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff-Street. / 1840.

359, 360.

II, pp. 151-7. Ode to a Nightingale, On a Grecian Urn, Ode to Psyche.

47. THE / BOOK OF SONNETS. / ... / EDITED BY A. MONTAGU WOODFORD. / LONDON L/ SANDERS AND OTLEY, CONDUIT STREET./ 1841.

xix, 291.

Pp. 168-73. A biographical note (very inaccurate) on Keats, and ten of his sonnets.

48. Arcturus, Jan. 1842, pp. 158-9.

Reprint of La Belle Dame sans Merci from the Indicator.

49. Book / of the / Poets / The / Modern Poets / of the Nineteenth Century. / London: / Published by Scott, Webster & Geary. / 1842.

Pp. 410-21. Brief memoir; nine excerpts or poems.

50. Select / Works / of the / British Poets. / from / Southey to Croly, / with / Biographical and Critical Prefaces / By/Dr. Aikin. / Philadelphia / Thomas Wardle / . . . / 1842

760 pp. There is also a second title-page with the date 1845.

Pp. 561-88. Sensible critical comment and selections from the poems.

51. Gems / OF / THE MODERN POETS. / WITH BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES. / By S. C. Hall. / Philadelphia: / Carey and Hart./ 1842.

408 pp.

Pp. 166-76. Biographical notice, six poems, and part of *The Eve of St. Agnes* (entitled "Isabella" by mistake).

- 52. Dial, April 1843, pp. 500-4.
- "Remarks on John Milton, by John Keats, written in the fly-leaf of Paradise Lost." By James Freeman Clark.
- 53. The Mirror Library, New Mirror Extra (8), 1844, pp. 11-16. The Eve of St. Agnes, with comment, reprinted without acknowledgment (as Professor Rollins notes) from Leigh Hunt's London Journal. Cf. L37.
- 54. IMAGINATION AND FANCY: / OR / SELECTIONS FROM THE ENGLISH POETS, / . . . / By / Leigh Hunt. / London: / Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill. / MDCCCXLIV. xii, 345.
- Pp. 312-45. Selections from Keats, with appreciative comment on the poems and their author.
- 55. Oracles from the Poets: / A Fanciful Diversion / for / The Drawing Room. / By / Caroline Gilman. / . . . / New York & London / Wiley and Putnam. / MDCCCXLIV.
- 242 pp. Nine brief selections from Keats.
- 56. Hood's Magazine and Comic Miscellany, I (Jan.-June, 1844), p. 562.

First publication of Meg Merrilies.

57. Ibid., II (July-Dec., 1844), p. 240.

First publication of the sonnet "Life's sea hath been five times."

- 58. Ibid., III (April 1845), p. 339.
- "Hush, hush, tread softly." *Ibid.*, p. 352. "High-mindedness—a jealousy for good."
- 59. The / Poets and Poetry / of / England, / in / The Nineteenth Century. / By / Rufus W. Griswold. / . . . / Philadelphia: / Carey & Hart, Chestnut Street. / MDCCCXLV. 504 pp.
- Pp. 301-11. Brief memoir and nineteen poems or excerpts.

60. Union Magazine, Feb. 1846, p. 157.

First publication of the sonnet "Bright star" with a facsimile and a letter from Severn (Jan. 21, 1846) giving his account of the circumstances of composition.

61. THE POETIC LACON, OR / APHORISMS FROM THE POETS. / . . . / By / Ben. Casseday. / New York: / D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. / . . . / 1847.

189 pp. Includes a few-brief passages from Keats.

M. Critical Comment, 1822-1847

(Before the publication of the first biography)

1. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, March 1822, p. 346.

In "Rhapsodies over a Punch-Bowl. No. I": "Poor Keates! I cannot pass his name without saying that I really think he had some genius about him. I do think he had something that might have ripened into fruit, had he not made such a mumbling work of the buds."

In addition to other articles and notes cited in the ordinary way, the following supplementary list for 1822-5 will indicate the continuing malice or contempt of *Blackwood's* toward Keats: Aug. 1822, pp. 159, 162, 166; Oct. 1822, p. 479; May 1823, p. 534; June 1823, pp. 689-90; July 1823, pp. 67, 72, 91; Jan. 1824, p. 85; May 1824, p. 559; June 1824, p. 712; Sept. 1824, pp. 288-9; Dec. 1824, pp. 712-15; Jan. 1825, p. 90; March 1825, p. 321; Sept. 1825, p. 378.

2. Ibid., p. 363.

A comic Italian poem ridiculing Hunt, Keats, and Cockaigne, in the first section of "Noctes Ambrosianae." The poem occurs on the second page 363 in this issue and there are several other eccentricities of pagination. The printer and proof-reader seem to have joined in the "Rhapsodies over a Punch-Bowl."

3. London Magazine, June 1822, p. 591.

In the "Necrological Table for 1821," a brief reference to Keats' death, and the announcement of Taylor's projected memoir: "Memoirs of his life are announced, to be accompanied with a selection from his unpublished manuscripts, which, when they appear, will be so particularly noticed in this Magazine as to render any further account at this time unnecessary." Reprinted in the Atheneum (Boston), Sept. 15, 1822, p. 478, as from the European Magazine. Edmund Blunden observes (Keats's Publisher, p. 93, note 1) that Taylor's memoir had been announced in the Morning Chronicle as early as June 4, 1821. It was announced also in Blackwood's, June 1821, p. 351.

4. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, July 1822, pp. 59-60.

In a "Letter from a Gentleman of the Press to Christopher North" the writer asserts that "Z" was quite right about the "Cockneys." "They were, are, and ever will be, ignorant pretenders, without talent or information... And lately, Johnny Keats was cut up in the Quarterly, for writing about Endymion what no mortal could understand, and this says Mr Shelly [sic] doctored the apothecary.... God rest him... I am sorry he is dead, for he often made me laugh at his rubbish of verse, when he was alive."

5. New Monthly Magazine, IV (1822), pp. 247-52, 329-33.

In articles by "S." (C. A. Brown) on "Mountain Scenery" and the "State of Religion in the Highlands," derived from the tour of Scotland with Keats, there are a few references to the poet and part of the previously unpublished *Lines written in the Highlands*.

6. Imperial Magazine, IV (1822), p. 735.

Stanzas, to the memory of Mr. Keats, the poet, who died at Rome on this day twelvemonth, by "H. D." The author's intentions were admirable, but the repetition of the famous epitaph at the end of each of the three stanzas is perhaps questionable; the Muse could suggest no better rhymes for water than daughter, slaughter, and caught her.

- 7. Edinburgh Review, May 1823, pp. 349-78.
- "The Periodical Press," by Hazlitt. Brief reference (p. 376) to the Tory attack on Keats.
- 8. London Magazine, May 1823, p. 541.

 Sonnet written on Keats's Endymion, by "T." (Thomas Hood).
 - 9. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Aug. 1823, pp. 225-7.

In "Letters of Timothy Tickler Esq. No. VIII," a reply to Hazlitt in the *Edinburgh* and a defence of the notorious review of *Endymion*. "If John Keats cared for being called an apothecary, being one, he must really have been a greater goose than even I ever took him for.... But let us hear no more of Johnny Keats. It really is

too disgusting to have him and his poems recalled in this manner, after all the world thought they had got rid of the concern. I would just ask any candid man this question—"What did Keats write?"—"Keats!" would be the answer, "I never heard the name—Oh! yes. I do remember something—Keats! was it Keats you said?—Are you sure you did not mean Cottle?""

10. Ibid., Oct. 1823, pp. 488-9.

In "Noctes Ambrosianae. No. VII," Christopher North makes brief reference to "Hazlitt's Apollo and Apothecary," and quotes the "fiery particle" lines from *Don Juan*.

11. Ultra-Crepidarius; / A Satire / on / William Gifford. / By / Leigh Hunt. / . . . / London, 1823: / Printed for John Hunt, /

40 pp.

P. iv. "Hence, and for no other cause, his unfeeling attack on Mr. Keats; for extraordinary genius was calculated merely to perplex him." Keats is also mentioned briefly in a note on p. 22.

12. Edinburgh Review, July 1824, pp. 494-514.

Hazlitt's review of Shelley's *Posthumous Poems* contains a reference (p. 499) to Keats' treatment by his critics.

13. Le Globe (Paris), June 23, 1825, pp. 629-30.

"Des Persécutions Littéraires," by "W": a general account of the attack on the "Cockneys." "Le pauvre Keats, jeune homme de beaucoup de talent, mourut de la douleur que lui causèrent les attaques envénimées du Quarterly."

14. Revue Encyclopédique, Aug. 1825, pp. 437-8.

A review of *Adonais* and *Hellas* with extensive reference to John Keate (sic) and his unjust treatment by the reviewers.

15. The / Spirit of the Age: / . . . / London: / Printed for Henry Colburn, New Burlington Street. / 1825
424 pp.

- Pp. 279-302. "Mr. Gifford." "Mr. Keats's ostensible crime was that he had been praised in the Examiner Newspaper: a greater and more unpardonable offence probably was, that he was a true poet, with all the errors and beauties of youthful genius to answer for. Mr. Gifford was as insensible to the one as he was inexorable to the other" (p. 288). Mr. Gifford "has a right to laugh at poor, unfriended, untitled genius from wearing the livery of rank and letters, as footmen behind a coronet-coach laugh at the rabble" (p. 286).
- 16. Voyage / Historique et Littéraire / en Angleterre / et / en Écosse / Par M. Amédée Pichot, D.M. / . . . / Tome Troisième / Paris / . . . / Ladvocat et Charles Gosselin / 1825 522 pp.
- III, pp. 104-5. "Il y avait davantage à espérer d'un autre arcadien de la même école, John Keats, plus rêveur, plus incorrect que Leigh Hunt et aussi diffus. Ses amis assurent qu'il est allé mourir en Italie, désespéré d'une critique de la Quarterly Review.2 Keats avait voulu prêter toute sa metaphysique de l'amour moderne aux dieux de l'antique mythologie. Il y a des tableaux pleins de fraîcheur dans son Endymion et sa Lamia." (Note 2: "Il parait que Keats était à la fois d'un amour-propre, très susceptible et atteint de consumption.") An English translation appeared the same year.
- 17. ANECDOTES / OF / LORD BYRON, / ... / LONDON, / KNIGHT AND LACEY, PATERNOSTER ROW: / ABERDEEN, W. GORDON; A. STEVENSON; D. WYLIE; / AND L. SMITH. / 1825. xvi, 207.
- P. 141. In a biographical note on Shelley: "His ashes were then, according to his own particular wish, placed beside those of his friend Keats, (a poet of some notoriety, promising something, but spoiled by pure cockneyism—believed to have been killed by an article in the Quarterly,) near Caius Cestus' tomb, in the burial ground at Rome. The reviewer of Shelley's posthumous volume says, he died with his hand clasping a volume of Johnny Keats' poetry in his bosom. Many think Keats' Endymion too heavy for any boat." This witticism in more abusive terms had appeared in Blackwood's, Sept. 1824, pp. 288-9.

18. The / Plainspeaker: / Opinions / on / Books, Men, and Things. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. [II.] / London: / Henry Colburn, New Burlington-Street. / 1826
465, 447 pp.

I, pp. 294-5. "Poor Keats paid the forfeit of this lezè [sic] majesté [doubting the divinity of kings] with his health and life. What, though his Verses were like the breath of spring, and many of his thoughts like flowers—would this, with the circle of critics that beset a throne, lessen the crime of their having been praised in the Examiner?" In the essay "Reading Old Books," previously printed in the London Magazine, Feb. 1821, Hazlitt comments on The Eve of St. Agnes as a poem which "made me regret that I was not young again."

19. LORD BYRON / AND / SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES; / . . . / BY LEIGH HUNT. / . . . / 1828.

See N16.

20. Athenaeum, Jan. 29, 1828, p. 71.

In a review of Leigh Hunt's Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries, a paragraph in praise of Keats. "But Mr. Keats's reputation is at present but the shadow of a glory..."

21. Ibid., March 14, 1828, p. 240.

Sonnet to the Memory of John Keats, by "Thomas M***s."

22. Quarterly Review, March 1828, pp. 402-26.

An abusive review of Leigh Hunt's Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries, with incidental ridicule of Keats. On pp. 417-18 there are quoted scornful references to Keats in Byron's letters and poems and part of his unpublished review of the 1817 volume. By J. G. Lockhart (see PMLA, 59 (1944), p. 493).

23. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, March 1828, pp. 362-408.

Another abusive review of Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries with incidental comments on Keats. On pp. 403-4 the reviewer strenuously denies the magazine's responsibility for Keats' death.

24. Philadelphia Monthly Magazine, Sept. 15, 1828, pp. 321-33.

"The Young Poets of Britain," by "L." On pp. 329-32, comment on Keats, quotations from the Ode to a Nightingale and Hyperion, and some flowery invective against his reviewers: "The demon of party snatched him from his studies, arrested his composition of "Hyperion," and banished him to the continent; there he lingered awhile, and then departed to a happier world, in the flower of his youth, and the vigor of his hopes." The author was Sumner Fairfield, according to Professor Rollins.

- 25. Philadelphia Album, and Ladies' Literary Gazeteer, Oct. 15, 1828, pp. 158-9.
- "Bruce, Wolfe, Keats and Knowles," includes six paragraphs in praise of Keats, with condemnation of the reviewers and brief quotation from the poems.
- 26. Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, Dec. 1828, pp. 677-708.
- "Noctes Ambrosianae. No. XL." Brief reference to Keats on p. 695.
- 27. A / GENERAL / BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY, / ... / BY JOHN GORTON. / IN TWO VOLUMES / VOL. I. [II.] / LONDON: / PRINTED FOR HUNT AND CLARKE, / ... / 1828.

v, 902, 1248.

- II, pp. 241-2. Biographical account of Keats with appreciative comment on the man and his poetry.
- 28. Imaginary Conversations / of / Literary Men and Statesmen / By / Walter Savage Landor, Esq. / The Third-Volume. / London: / Henry Colburn, New Burlington Street. / 1828.

xvi, 546.

Pp. 426-31. In "Conversation XIV. Landor, English Visitor, and Florentine Visitor," comment on Keats and attack on Blackwood's.

- 29. Adone / Nella Morte / di / Giovanni Keats / . . . / Elegia / di / Percy Bishe Shelley / Tradotta / da / L. A. Damaso Pareto. / . . . / Genova / dalla Tipografia Pellas. / MDCCCXXX.
- 76 pp. The prefatory remarks on Shelley (pp. 5-35) are interspersed with comments on Keats, especially pp. 28-30.
- 30. New Monthly Magazine, March 1831, pp. 111-12.

The review of Tennyson's *Poems*, *Chiefly Lyrical* contains an early comparison of Keats and Tennyson. "It is full of precisely the kind of poetry for which Mr. Keats was assailed, and for which the world is already beginning to admire him."

30a. Enterpeiad, April 1, 1831, p. 240.

Sonnet to Keats, by "A.P." Professor Rollins identifies the author as Albert Pike.

31. Halifax Monthly Magazine (Halifax, Nova Scotia), Aug. 1, 1831, p. 122.

In "Sketches of the British Poets": "Keats died at an early age, probably long before his powers were matured; but not till he had given promise of excellence in his peculiar style. His versification was chiefly formed on the model of Spenser; and few as his poems are, they exhibit a rich and delicate conception of the beauty of our language."

32. Souvenirs / Personnels / et / Silhouettes Contemporaines / par / Auguste Barbier / de L'Académie Française / Paris / E. Dentu, Éditeur / . . . / 1883 /

378 pp. Includes an account, with letters, of a visit to Rome in 1831-2, and the grave of Keats. "Mais le tombeau qui m'a le plus intéressé et retenu le plus longtemps près de lui, c'est celui de l'infortuné John Keats, l'auteur d'Endymion, le poète anglais qui, de nos jours, et après notre André Chénier, a eu le sentiment le plus fin et le plus tendre de la beauté antique." There follows a description of the memorial stone and the epitaph and another denunciation of heartless reviewers.

33. Athenaeum, March 10, 1832, p. 162.

An Elegy on the Death of the Poet Keats, by "B." (Barry Cornwall).

- 34. The / Poetical Works / of / Leigh Hunt. / . . . / London: / Edward Moxon, 64, New Bond-Street. / MDCCCXXXII. lx, 361.
- P. x. Cites examples of splendid imagery in Keats. P. 150. In *The Feast of the Poets:* "And Keats, with young tresses and thoughts, like the gods."
- 35. New Monthly Magazine, Jan. 1833, pp. 69-74.

"Faults of Recent Poets. Poems by Alfred Tennyson." "... the newer aspirants to Parnassus have united with these models ["the worst conceits of the poets of the time of Charles II, and the most cox-combical euphemisms of the contemporaries of Elizabeth"], models even more dangerous, and draw their inspiration now from Keats, and now from Herrick, or copy one line from the Sonnets of Shakespeare, in order to pillage the next from the Fragments of Shelley. The genius of Keats and Shelley scarcely redeemed their own faults; and it is more than doubtful whether the former will ever rank with posterity among the classic names of the age." (P. 70.)

36.* L'Europe Littéraire, March 6, 1833, p. 13.

A review of Tennyson's *Poems*, *Chiefly Lyrical* and *New Poems* refers to Keats briefly. [ELH, 3(1936), pp. 218-20]

37. Quarterly Review, April 1833, pp. 81-96.

Croker's famous review of Tennyson's *Poems*. It begins with an ironic account of Keats' wide popularity and praise of Tennyson as his disciple—"another and a brighter star of that galaxy or *milky* way of poetry of which the lamented Keats was the harbinger."

38. Revue des Deux Mondes, 4 (1833), pp. 418-19.

In Allan Cunningham's "Histoire biographique et critique de la littérature anglaise depuis cinquante ans.— Poètes anglais," a biographical note on Keats, more about his murder by the Quarterly,

and a strange confusion of the legends of the eve of St. Agnes and of St. Mark. The editorial foot-note is more sensible than the text and shows a greater knowledge of Keats' poetry.

39. Quarterly Review, Aug. 1834, pp. 13-14.

Slight reference to Keats in a review of Coleridge's poems: "that dreamy, half-swooning style of verse which was criticized by Lord Byron (in language too strong for print) as the fatal sin of Mr. John Keats..."

40. Western Messenger, June 1836, pp. 772-7.

"Winander Lake and Mountains, and Ambleside Fall." Extracts from a letter of Keats to his brother in America followed by remarks on Keats' poetry and prose by James Freeman Clark, the editor. Of Keats' prose writings Clark observes: "It seems to us, from the specimens which we have seen of them, that they are of a higher order of composition than his poems." For other Keats items in the Western Messenger, see L41.

41. Ladies' Companion, Aug. 1837, pp. 186-7.

Incidental comment on Keats by John Howard Payne in an article principally of interest for the reminiscences of George Keats and the first appearance of three of his brother's poems. See V1.

42. Quarterly Review, June 1839, pp. 59-64.

Review of R. M. Milnes' Memorials of a Residence on the Continent, with one mention of Keats: Milnes will "regret few sins more bitterly than the homage he has now rendered at the fantastic shrines of such baby idols as Mr. John Keats and Mr. Alfred Tennyson" (p. 60). By J. G. Lockhart (see PMLA, 59(1944), p. 502).

43. Ibid., March 1840, pp. 463-4.

Scornful reference to Keats in an article on "Journalism in France": "The same sort of twaddle was levelled against the conductors of this Review when they had the misfortune to criticise a sickly poet, who died soon afterwards, apparently for the express purpose

of dishonouring us.... The article was not written with any intention of damaging Mr. John Keats' lungs or stomach..."

44. Cambridge University Magazine, March 1840, pp. 213-28.

"The Poets of England who have died young. No. III.—John Keats." Includes facsimiles of a few MS. lines of Hyperion.

45. Albion, or British, Colonial, and Foreign Weekly Gazette (New York), Nov. 20, 1841, p. 403.

Anonymous sonnet to Keats: "The world he dwelt in was a solitude."

46. Arcturus, Dec. 1841, pp. 24-9.

Anonymous essay on "The Sonnets of Keats." See R167.

47. Ibid., Jan. 1842, p. 141.

To the Spirit of Keats, by J. R. Lowell.

48. Graham's Magazine, April 1842, pp. 218-20.

"St. Agnes' Eve. A Chit-Chat about Keats," by "J. S." In spite of the title and the vinous manner of Christopher North, an appreciative monologue on the splendour of Keats' imagination.

49. CYCLOPAEDIA / OF / ENGLISH LITERATURE / . . . / EDITED BY / ROBERT CHAMBERS. / IN TWO VOLUMES. / VOL. I. [II.] / EDINBURGH: / PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM AND ROBERT CHAMBERS. / 1843 [-4]

xvi, 672, xvi, 717.

II, pp. 402-7. "John Keats." Friendly account with extensive quotation from the poems.

50. A New / Spirit of the Age. / Edited by R. H. Horne, / ... / Vol. I. [II.] / London: / Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. / 1844.

ix, 332, 310.

I, p. 175. Quotation from a letter by Landor: "No poet (always excepting Shakespeare) displays so many happy expressions, or so vivid a fancy as Keats. A few hours in the Paecile with the Tragedians would have made him all he wanted—majestically sedate." Horne makes a brief reference in praise of Keats on p. 315, and a more extensive comment in the essay on Tennyson, II, pp. 6-11.

51. Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, XIII (1846), pp. 249-54.

Thomas De Quincey, "Notes on Gilfillan's 'Gallery of Literary Portraits.'... John Keats." Criticism of Gilfillan for repeating the story that Keats was killed by the reviewers.

N. Keats as Seen by His Contemporaries: Memoirs, Reminiscence, Appraisal

The writings here listed are by contemporaries who knew Keats or (as in the case of Byron) had access to first-hand information about him. They range from minor biographical reminiscence to formal memoir, and from casual prose comment on his art and character to the splendid apotheosis of the ideal poet in *Adonais*. Supplementary and related comment of equal range may be found in K: Periodicals, &c. containing Reviews, Criticism, Defence, 1816-1821; in L: Periodicals, Anthologies, &c. containing Writings by Keats, 1822-1847; in M: Critical Comment, 1822-1847; and in V: The Keats Circle.

- 1. European Magazine, Oct. 1816, p. 365.
- G. F. M. (George Felton Mathew), To a Poetical Friend. Reprinted in J. M. Murry, Studies in Keats, pp. 1-2.
- 1a. Ibid., Oct. 1817, p. 360.
- Sonnet by G. F. M., beginning "Art thou a Poet?—thou hast learn'd to feign," which may also be addressed to Keats.
- 2. Foliage; / or / Poems Original and Translated, / By / Leigh Hunt. / . . . / London: / Printed for C. and J. Ollier, Welbeck Street. / 1818.
- 39 (Preface), cxxxv (Poems), 111 (Translations).
- Pp. cxxv-cxxvii. To John Keats, On Receiving a Crown of Ivy from the Same, and On the Same. These poems, published at about the same time as Endymion, did much to link Keats' name and poetry with Leigh Hunt's.
- 3. Amyntas, / A Tale of the Woods; / From the Italian / of / Torquato Tasso. / By / Leigh Hunt. / London: / Printed for T. and J. Allman, / . . . / 1820.

- xxxii, 146. Dedication: "To John Keats, Esq. this translation of the early work of a celebrated poet, whose fate it was to be equally pestered by the critical, and admired by the poetical, is inscribed, by his affectionate friend, Leigh Hunt."
- 4. Table-Talk; / Or, / Original Essays. / By William Hazlitt. / London: / John Warren, Old Bond-Street. / MDCCCXXI. 400 pp.

Pp. 229-30. In "On Living to One's-Self," personal testimony to the nearly absolute power of the *Quarterly* over the sale of books, and reference to the malice of *Blackwood's* toward the "Cockneys." "Poor Keats! What was sport to the town, was death to him. Young, sensitive, delicate, he was like

"A bud bit by an envious worm, Ere he could spread his sweet leaves to the air, Or dedicate his beauty to the sun"—

and unable to endure the miscreant cry and idiot laugh, withdrew to sigh his last breath in foreign climes."

5. Adonais / An Elegy on the Death of John Keats, / Author of Endymion, Hyperion etc. / By / Percy. B. Shelley / [Quotation from Plato] / Pisa, / With the Types of Didot / MDCCCXXI.

25 pp.

6. The / Garden of Florence; / and / Other Poems. / By John Hamilton. / London: / John Warren, Old Bond-Street. / MDCCCXXI.

xiii, 175. By John Hamilton Reynolds.

Pp. xi-xii. Reference to his plan of collaboration with an unnamed friend (Keats). P. xii. "His intense mind and powerful feeling would, I truly believe, have done the world some service, had his life been spared—but he was of too sensitive a nature—and thus he was destroyed! One story he completed, and that is to me now the most pathetic poem in existence!" The reference is, of course, to *Isabella*. Pp. 122-7. Three sonnets on Robin Hood, addressed to Keats, though without mentioning him by name.

6a. The / Village Minstrel, / and / Other Poems. / By John Clare, /... / Vol. I. [II.] / London: Printed for Taylor and Hessey, Fleet Street; / and E. Drury, Stamford. / 1821. xxviii, 216, [viii], 211.

II, p. 207. To the Memory of John Keats, a sonnet.

7. London Magazine (Baldwin's), April 1821, pp. 426-7.

Notable article by "L" on the "Death of Mr. John Keats" includes a reference to the poet's desired epitaph.

8. Morning Chronicle, July 27, 1821.

Letter to the editor on "John Keats, the Poet," by "his School-fellow and Friend." The writer, "Y.," is almost certainly Charles Cowden Clarke. "I remember his first introduction to Mr. Hunt.... I remember too, his first introduction to Mr. Haydon.... If it will be any gratification to Mr. Gifford to know how much he contributed to the discomfort of a generous mind, I can as far satisfy it by informing him, that Keats has been awake through the whole night talking with sensative [sic] bitterness of the unfair treatment he had experienced; and with becoming scorn of the information which was afterwards suggested to him; 'That as it was considered that he had been rather roughly handled, his future productions should be received with less harshness.' So much for the integrity and impartiality of criticism!"

9. London Magazine, May 1822, p. 471.

In a review of the "Exhibition of the Royal Academy," one sentence: "There is a bust, by the same hand [Frederick Smith's], of John Keats the poet, which strongly recals [sic] the gifted author of Endymion to our remembrance."

10. Examiner, July 8, 1822, pp. 419-21.

"On Mr. Shelley's New Poem, entitled Adonais," anonymous article (by Leigh Hunt) with reminiscence of Keats and Shelley, especially of composing a set-poem in competition with them. This article was published, by chance, on the day of Shelley's death.

11. The / Literary Examiner: / Consisting of / The Indicator, / A Review of Books, / and Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose and Verse, / London: / Printed for H. L. Hunt, Tavistock Street / 1823.

412 pp.

Pp. 117-18. A comparative essay by Leigh Hunt "On the Suburbs of Genoa and the Country about London" with remarks on Hampstead, Well Walk, and memories of Keats' last days there.

12. Don Juan. / Cantos IX.—X.—and XI. / ... / London, 1823: / Printed for John Hunt, /
151 pp.

P. 127. The famous Stanza LX, ending:

'Tis strange the mind, that very fiery particle, Should let itself be snuffed out by an Article.

For other comment by Lord Byron, published after his death, see *The Works of Lord Byron*, E. H. Coleridge and R. E. Prothero editors, London and New York, 1901-4.

13. Select / British Poets, / . . . / By William Hazlitt. / . . . / 1824.

See L9.

14. JOURNAL / OF THE / CONVERSATIONS / OF / LORD BYRON: / NOTED DURING A RESIDENCE WITH HIS LORDSHIP / AT PISA, / IN THE YEARS 1821 AND 1822. / BY THOMAS MEDWIN, Esq. / . . . / LONDON: / PRINTED FOR HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET. / 1824.

viii, [346].

Pp. 237-40. Conversation about the reviewers and their treatment of Shelley and Keats. Byron shows equal contempt for Keats and his deriders. "I am always battling with the Snake [Shelley] about Keats, and wonder what he finds to make a god of, in that idol of the Cockneys; besides I always ask Shelley why he does not follow his style, and make himself one of the school, if he thinks it so divine" (p. 239).

15. The / Every-Day Book / and / Table Book; / ... / By William Hone. / ... / In Three Volumes. Vol. / III. / London: / Printed for Thomas Tegg, / 73, Cheapside.

1827; 860, 888 (columns). Volume III is paged in two parts.

III, Pt. 1, col. 810. Reminiscences (by Hone?) of Hampstead and of "a charming little grove in Well Walk, with a bench at the end; whereon I last saw poor Keats, the poet of the "Pot of Basil," sitting and sobbing his dving breath into a handkerchief...." The writer quotes three-stanzas of the Ode to a Nightingale. III. Pt. 2, col. 249. Report on Keats' desired epitaph. III, Pt. 2, col. 371-2. Letter to the editor by "Gaston," dated Sept. 13, 1827, including a poem written in Nov. 1826: Extemporaneous Lines, suggested by Some Thoughts and Recollections of John Keats, the Poet. Apparently by a younger man, with unlimited admiration of Keats' character and poetry, who knew him for only a short time, and saw him embark for Italy. "Gaston" may have been William Smith Williams, apprenticed to John Taylor, and afterwards a friend of the Brontës. (See E. Blunden, Keats's Publisher, pp. 79 and 244-5.) III, Pt. 2, col. 430. A note to the editor by "O. Z." quoting Keats' testamentary acknowledgment of debt to Taylor.

16. LORD BYRON / AND / SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES; / . . . / BY LEIGH HUNT. / . . . / LONDON: / HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET. / 1828.
viii, 513.

Pp. 246-72. An extended account of Keats with criticism of his poetry. In this volume there is also (opposite p. 1) a sample of Keats' autograph of *Hyperion* and (p. 246) a Severn-Meyer portrait of Keats.

17. Olio; or, Museum of Entertainment, Jan.-July, 1828, pp. 391-4. Reminiscence of Keats by "Iluscenor" (Barry Cornwall?), and praise for the man and the poet.

18. Adonais. / An Elegy / on the / Death of John Keats, / Author of Endymion, Hyperion, etc. / By / Percy B.

- SHELLEY. / [Quotation from Plato] / CAMBRIDGE: / PRINTED BY W. METCALFE, / AND SOLD BY MESSRS. GEE & BRIDGES, MARKET-HILL. / MDCCCXXIX.
- viii, 28. The publication of the second edition of Adonais at Cambridge is indicative of the special enthusiasm for both Keats and Shelley of young men such as Richard Monckton Milnes, Arthur Hallam, and Alfred Tennyson.
- 18a. The / Poetical Works / of / Leigh Hunt. / . . . / London / Edward Moxon, 64, New Bond-Street. / MDCCCXXXII. [lxiv], 361.
- There are three brief references to Keats in the Preface, in appreciation of his poetry.
- 19. THE / RICHES OF CHAUCER: / ... / BY CHARLES COWDEN CLARKE, / ... / IN TWO VOLUMES. / Vol. I. [II.] / [Illustration] / LONDON: / EPPINGHAM WILSON, ROYAL EXCHANGE. / 1835. xi, 327; vii, 315.
- I, pp. 52-3. Clarke's account of how Keats composed the sonnet On "The Floure and the Lefe."
- 20. SHAKESPEARE'S / AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL / POEMS! / ... / BY / CHARLES ARMITAGE BROWN. / ... / LONDON: / JAMES BOHN, 12, KING WILLIAM STREET, / WEST STRAND. / 1838.

 306 pp.
- P. 20. Passing reference to the promise of *Endymion*. Pp. 133-4. Remarks on Keats' knowledge of Vergil and Cicero and a two-sentence quotation from Brown's unpublished memoir of him.
- 21. Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal, Oct. 1, 8, 15, and 22, 1840.
- C.A.B. (Charles Armitage Brown), "Walks in the North, during the Summer of 1818." Brown's account of his tour with Keats, related only as far as Ballantrae, though announced "to be continued."

22. The / Philosophy / of / Mystery. / By / Walter Cooper Dendy, / . . . / London: / Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, / Paternoster Row. / 1841.

xii, 443.

- Pp. 99-100. Account of Keats by a fellow medical student, and the text of the "Alexandre fragment."
- 23. IMAGINATION AND FANCY: / ... / By / Leigh Hunt. / ... / MDCCCXLIV.

 See L54.
- 24. Union Magazine, Feb. 1846, p. 157.

Letter from Severn (Jan. 21, 1846) giving his account of how Keats composed the "Bright star" sonnet. On the opposite page there is a facsimile of Keats' autograph of the poem.

25. THE LIFE / OF / PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY. / BY THOMAS MEDWIN. / IN TWO VOLUMES. / Vol. I. [II.] / LONDON: / THOMAS CANTLEY NEWBY, / . . . / 1847.

[xii], 384, 368.

- I, pp. 295-8. Comment on Keats, based on information derived from Leigh Hunt, Fanny Brawne, and Shelley. "Shelley told me that he and Keats had mutually agreed, in the same given time, (six months each,) to write a long poem, and that the Endymion, and Revolt of Islam were the fruits of this rivalry" (p. 298).
- 26. LIFE, / LETTERS, AND LITERARY REMAINS, / OF / JOHN KEATS. / EDITED BY / RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES. / . . . / 1848.

 See O1, etc. Incorporates reminiscences, often verbatim, provided by Clarke, Holmes, Mathew, Reynolds, Haslam, Dilke, Brown, and others who knew Keats.
 - 27. The / Autobiography / of / Leigh Hunt; / with / Reminiscences / of Friends and Contemporaries. / . . . / In Three Volumes. / Vol. I. [etc.] / London: / Smith, Elder and Co., 65, Cornhill. / 1850.

xv, 312, viii, 334, viii, 328.

II, pp. 201-14. Account of Keats, based largely on Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries, 1828.

28. Life / of / Benjamin Robert Haydon, / Historical Painter, / from / His Autobiography and Journals. / Edited and Compiled / By Tom Taylor, / . . . / In Three Volumes. / Vol. I. [etc.] / London: / Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman. / 1853.

vi, 386, 368, 358.

I, pp. 331-5, 353-7, 361-4. Principal references to Keats. I, pp. 362-4. First publication of "For there's Bishop's teign" and "Where be ye going, you Devon Maid?"

29. Examiner, July 9, 1853, p. 438.

Letter from Charles Cowden Clarke to protest against the derogatory remarks about Keats and Hazlitt in the *Life of Haydon*. Clarke never saw Keats drunk and did not believe the cayenne pepper story. Neither, for that matter, did the reviewer of the *Life of Haydon* in the *Examiner*, July 2, p. 420.

30. The Life of / Gerald Griffin, / By his Brother / . . . / Dublin, / James Duffy, 15, Wellington Quay.

1857 (second edition); 404.

Pp. 146-9. Reference in letters to meeting Fanny Keats, Valentine Llanos, and Fanny Brawne in 1825. "I think it possible I may some of these days become acquainted with the young sister of poor Keats the poet, as she is coming to spend some time with a friend of mine. If I do, I will send you an account of her. My Spanish friend, Valentine Llanos, was intimate with him, and spoke with him three days before he died. I am greatly interested about that family. Keats you must know was in love, and the lady whom he was to have married, had he survived Gifford's (the butcher) review, attended him to the last.... She and his sister say they have oft found him, on suddenly entering the room, with that review in his hand, reading as if he would devour it—completely absorbed—absent, and drinking it in like mortal poison.

The instant he observed anybody near him, however, he would throw it by, and begin to talk of some indifferent matter. The book displays great genius, but, unfortunately, it afforded one or two passages capable of being twisted to the purpose of a malignant wretch of a reviewer, such as Gifford is, with much effect."

- 31. Atlantic Monthly, Jan. 1861, pp. 86-100.
- "Recollections of Keats. By an Old School-Fellow" (Charles Cowden Clarke).
- **32**. *Ibid*., April 1863, pp. 401-7.
- Joseph Severn, "On the Vicissitudes of Keats's Fame."
- 33. Diary, Reminiscences, and / Correspondence / of / Henry Crabb Robinson, / . . . / Selected and Edited / By / Thomas Sadler, Ph.D. / In Three Volumes.— Vol. I. [etc.] / London: Macmillan and Co. / 1869. /

xxiii, ii (Contents), 509, iv, 529, v, 598.

- II, p. 197 (Dec. 8, 1820). Praise of Keats' Hyperion and the "force, wildness, and originality" which "promise to place him at the head of the next generation of poets. Lamb places him next to Wordsworth—not meaning any comparison, for they are dissimilar." II, pp. 197-8 (Dec. 15). Comment on The Pot of Basil. III, p. 118 (May 6, 1837). Brief reference to a conversation about Keats with Severn in Rome.
- 34. Life and Letters / of / William Bewick / (Artist) / Edited by / Thomas Landseer, A.R.A. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. [II.] / London: / Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, / . . . / 1871.

xii, 300, viii, 262.

- I, p. 41; II, pp. 150, 169-70. Rather general references (the first in a letter of Feb. 11, 1818) to meetings with Keats and his friends.
- 35. Notes and Queries, Aug. 24, 1872, p. 157.

In a note by "J. H. C." in defence of Chatterton's poetry this occurs: "I never saw the poet Keats but once, but he then read

some lines from (I think) the "Bristowe Tragedy" with an enthusiasm of admiration such as could only be felt by a poet, and which true poetry only could have excited."

36. Gentleman's Magazine, Feb. 1874, pp. 177-204.

Charles Cowden Clarke, "Recollections of John Keats." Based on the material given to Richard Monckton Milnes and later used in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

37. Littel's Living Age, April 18, 1874, pp. 174-88.

Charles Cowden Clarke, "Recollections of John Keats," reprinted from the Gentleman's Magazine.

38. Benjamin Robert Haydon: / Correspondence and Table Talk. / ... / In Two Volumes.— Vol. I. [II.] / London: / Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly / 1876. /

xix, 469, 484. Contains a great deal about Keats, though most of it had been incorporated in Taylor's Life of Haydon, 1853.

39. BRYAN WALLER PROCTER / (BARRY CORNWALL). / AN / AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL FRAGMENT / AND / BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES, / ... / LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS, YORK STREET, / COVENT GARDEN. / 1877.

xiv, 306.

Pp. 201-2. A slight and general reminiscence of Keats.

40. Recollections of Writers. / By / Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke, / . . . / London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, / . . . / 1878. /

viii, 341. References to Keats passim, but especially on pp. 120-57.

- 41. Athenaeum, Aug. 23 and 30, 1879, pp. 238-9, 271-2.
- H. B. Forman, "Severn and Keats." Letters written by Severn to Brown in the years 1821-41, all with reference to Keats.
- 42. THE ASCLEPIAD. / A BOOK OF ORIGINAL RESEARCH AND OBSERVATION / IN THE / SCIENCE, ART, AND LITERATURE OF

MEDICINE, / PREVENTIVE AND CURATIVE. / 1884. / BY BENJAMIN WARD RICHARDSON ... / LONDON: / LONGMANS, GREEN, AND COMPANY, /

viii, 388.

Pp. 138-55. "An Esculapian Poet—John Keats." An account of Keats as a medical student by one who had known Henry Stephens and George Wilson Mackereth, his room-mates. On pp. 148-9 there appears Stephens' anecdote about the composition of the first line of *Endymion*. See also Q35.

43. Personal Traits of / British Authors / ... / Edited by Edward T. Mason / with Portraits / New York / Charles Scribner's Sons / 1885

xi, 322.

Pp. 193-207. Brief selections from reminiscences of Keats by Charles Cowden Clarke and Leigh Hunt.

44. RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH / ARCHBISHOP / LETTERS AND MEMORIALS / EDITED BY THE AUTHOR OF / "CHARLES LOWDER" / ... / IN Two Volumes / Vol. I. [II.] / London / Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Paternoster Square / 1888

-xviii, 346, vii, 234; edited by Maria Trench.

I, pp. 51-2. In a letter of Feb. 18, 1830, Trench reports what he heard from Severn: Keats' "sufferings were terrible and prolonged. Shelley and Hunt had deprived him of his belief in Christianity, which he wanted in the end, and he endeavoured to fight back to it, saying if Severn would get him a Jeremy Taylor, he thought he could believe; but it was not to be found in Rome. Another time ... having been betrayed into considerable impatience by bodily and mental anguish, he cried, on recovering himself, 'By God, Severn, a man ought to have some superstition, that he may die decently.' ... He has left a tragedy; the subject is Otho the Great. His friend, Mr. Brown, at whose house he resided at Hampstead, is about to publish it, with his life. I have made a pilgrimage to his tomb and Shelley's." Other comment is to be found at I, pp. 43, 61, and II, pp. 24-5. It may be worth noting that Severn later

remarked that he was "able to procure the 'Holy Living and Dying'" for Keats. (Atlantic Monthly, April 1863, p. 403.)

45. Mary Howitt / An Autobiography. / Edited by her Daughter / Margaret Howitt / . . . / In Two Volumes / Vol. I. [II.] / London / Wm. Isbister Limited / . . . / 1889
xviii, 326, xii, 370.

I, pp. 276-7. In a letter of Feb. 25, 1838: "Do you know that the wife of our surgeon here [at Esher], Mrs. Neville, is an old friend of John Keats? I believe I may say an old flame. Many of his verses were addressed to her; and a very lovely young woman she was, I doubt not. She sent us the other day three sketches of him to look at—one of them in youth and health; one lying in his berth reading while passing through the Bay of Biscay on his way to Italy; and one as he lay with his head on the pillow just before death." (Mrs. Neville, née Frogley, was a cousin of Richard Woodhouse. See Letters, pp. 245, 250-1, 270.) II, pp. 212-13. Meeting with Severn (Nov. 1870) and his story of how Keats threw the badly prepared meal out of the window.

46. New Review, May 1894, pp. 593-606.

William Graham, "Keats and Severn." Report of an interview with Severn, shortly before his death, with Keats the principal subject.

- 47. Illustrated London News, Feb. 15, 1896, p. 210.
- "A Friend of John Keats." Some old memories by Mary Cowden Clarke.
- 48. Last Links with / Byron, Shelley, and / Keats / By / William Graham / London / Leonard Smithers & Co. / . . . / 1898

xx, 121.

Pp. 98-121. "Keats and Severn." Reprint of the article in the New Review.

49. James / and / Horace Smith / ... / By / Arthur H. Beavan / ... / London: / Hurst and Blackett, Limited / ... / 1899 / ...

xii, 312.

- P. 134. Brief reminiscence of Keats by Horace Smith's daughter.
- 50. LETTERS OF / EDWARD JOHN TRELAWNY / EDITED WITH A BRIEF INTRODUCTION AND / NOTES BY / H. BUXTON FORMAN C.B. / HENRY FROWDE / OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS / . . . / 1910 xxiv, 306.
- Pp. 54-7. Correspondence (1823) with Mary Shelley about a proper epitaph and memorial for Keats. Pp. 135-6. Trelawny mentions that he is selecting mottoes as chapter-headings for his Adventures of a Younger Son. "Brown, who was very anxious about the fame of Keats, has given many of his MSS. for the purpose."
- 51. The / Life and Letters of / Theodore / Watts-Dunton / By Thomas Hake and / Arthur Compton-Rickett / . . . / Vol. I. [II.] / London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, Limited / New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons / 1916, ix, 340, 344.
- I, pp. 152-3. Quotation from the unpublished "Reminiscences of the Blind Poet" (Philip Bourke Marston) of R. H. Horne's recollection of seeing Keats at Hampstead during his apprenticeship to Dr. Hammond. Horne was a school-mate of Tom Keats at Enfield.
- 52. Reminiscences of / a Literary Life / By Charles Mac-Farlane / 1799-1858 / . . . / London / . . . / 1917
- xi, 303. General or second-hand references to Keats (pp. 13-15).
- 53. SHELLEY AND KEATS / AS THEY STRUCK THEIR CONTEMPORARIES / ... / EDITED BY EDMUND BLUNDEN / LONDON / PUBLISHED BY C. W. BEAUMONT / ... / 1925
 94 pp.

Pp. 69-94. Includes reprint of letter from "Y." to the *Morning Chronicle*, July 27, 1821; "Sidelights from Letters to J. Clare"; a letter from Brown to Hunt, June 10, 1837 on the "Delay of Keats's Fame"; and *Varia* from printed and MS. sources.

54. Endymion/.../Type-facsimile of the First Edition/with Introduction/and Notes/By/H. Clement Notcutt/.../1927

See A8.

Pp. 239-42. Dilke's memoir of Keats, as written in the Dilke-Hampstead *Endymion*, apparently here printed for the first time.

55. Life of / John Keats / By / Charles Armitage Brown / .../1937

See O37.

O. Biography and Criticism

1. Life, / Letters, and Literary Remains, / of / John Keats. / Edited by / Richard Monckton Milnes. / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. [II.] / London: / Edward Moxon, Dover Street. / 1848.

xix, 288, 306; front. (port.) by Severn-Robinson.

II, pp. 114-306. Literary Remains.

2. Life, / Letters, and Literary Remains, / of / John Keats. / Edited by / Richard Monckton Milnes. / Complete in One Volume. / New-York: / George P. Putnam, 155 Broadway, / 1848.

393 pp.; Putnam's Choice Library.

- - 4. John Keats / A Study / By / F. M. Owen / ... / London / C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1 Paternoster Square / 1880 vi, 183.
 - 5. Keats / By / Sidney Colvin / London: Macmillan and Co. / and New York / 1887 /
 - xii, 233; the English Men of Letters Series. This edition was reprinted in 1889, 1898, 1899, 1902, and 1909. The "Library Edition" which appeared in 1902 was reprinted in 1906, 1913, 1921. The "Pocket Edition" (1909) was reprinted in 1915, 1916, 1918, 1923.
 - 6. The American edition of the preceding item published the same year in New York by Harper and Brothers, the pagination being:

- x, 229. This edition was frequently reprinted. From 1894 the biography of Keats is sometimes bound up with the E. M. L. biographies of Hawthorne and Carlyle in the "Portrait Edition." This composite volume was also published by Morang and Co., Toronto, in 1900.
- 7. Life / of / John Keats. / By / William Michael Rossetti. / London / Walter Scott / . . . / 1887 / . . .
- 217, xi; Great Writers Series. Bibliographical appendix, pp. i-xi, by J. P. Anderson.
- 8. De / Joh. Keatsii / Vita et Carminibus / Thesim / Facultati Litterarum Parisiensi / Proponebat / Augustus Angellier, / Universitati Aggregatus / In Facultate Litterarum Insulensi Docens. / Parisiis, / Apud Hachette et Socios Bibliopolas / Via Dicta Boulevard Saint-Germain, 79 / MDCCCXCII

 101 pp.
- 9. John Keats / A Critical Essay / By / Robert Bridges / Privately Printed / MDCCCXCV
- 97; front. (port.) after Severn. An edition limited to 250 copies. A trade edition was published later by Lawrence & Bullen.
- 10. John Keats / Leben und Werke / von / Marie Gothein / I. [II.] / Leben [Werke] / Halle A. S. / Verlag von Max Niemeyer / 1897
- xvi, 277 (Life), iv, 293 (Poems); front. (port.) after Severn. Keats' poems are translated into German.
- 11. LIFE AND LETTERS / OF / JOHN KEATS / BY / LORD HOUGHTON / [Device] / LONDON / GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LIMITED / NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & Co.
 - [1906]; 282; the New Universal Library.
 - 12. John Keats / A Literary Biography by / Albert Elmer Hancock / ... / London / Archibald Constable & Co.

Limited / Boston and New York / Houghton Mifflin Company / 1908

xi, 234; front. (port.) after Severn; illustrations; facsimile.

- 13. Lucien Wolff / ... / John Keats / Sa Vie et Son Œuvre / (1795-1821) / Paris / Hachette & Cie / ... [1910]; xxxii, 643.
- 14. Keats & / His Poetry / By / William Henry Hudson / ... / London: George G. / Harrap & Company / 9 Portsmouth Street / Kingsway W.C. MCMXI
- 95 pp.; Poetry and Life Series. Frequently reprinted.
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191 pp.

Pp. 161-6. H. E. Rollins, "Keats's Elgin Marbles Sonnets."

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See also articles in periodicals and learned journals, 1848-1946, which are entered under S: Translations; V: The Keats Circle; and W: Enfield, Hampstead, and Rome.

1. Eclectic Magazine, July 1848, pp. 409-15.

"John Keats." Critical essay and appreciation, reprinted from *Hogg's Weekly Instructor*. No reference to Milnes' biography, just published.

2. Athenaeum, Aug. 12 and 19, 1848, pp. 789-91, 824-7.

Review of Milnes' biography.

3. Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1848, pp. 507-10.

Partly friendly, partly scornful review of the biography of Keats.

4. Revue des Deux Mondes, 1848 (4), pp. 584-607.

Philarète Chasles, "John Keats." Review of Milnes' biography, with extensive translations of poems and letters.

5. Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1849, pp. 425-9.

Comment on Keats, in a long article reviewing recently published poems of Tennyson, Shelley, and Keats.

6. Westminster Review, 50 (1849), pp. 349-71.

Friendly review of Milnes' biography with extensive quotation of Keats' verse and letters.

7. Athenaeum, March 25, 1854, pp. 368-9.

In a review of *Poetical Works* (Milnes, Moxon, 1854), a defence of the purity of Keats' language.

8. Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society, III (1856-7), 24 pp. (each article paged separately).

Richard Monckton Milnes, "Another Version of Keats's 'Hyperion'" (The Fall of Hyperion: A Dream). This was the basic text of the poem until the discovery of the Woodhouse Transcript in 1904. Cf. D3 and D29.

9. Fraser's Magazine, Dec. 1859, pp. 747-66.

Leigh Hunt, "English Poetry versus Cardinal Wiseman." In part (pp. 759-60, 765-6) a defence of Keats against the accusation of voluptuousness and lack of moral concern.

10. Macmillan's Magazine, Nov. 1860, pp. 1-16.

David Masson, "The Life and Poetry of Keats."

11. Atlantic Monthly, April 1863, pp. 401-7.

Joseph Severn, "On the Vicissitudes of Keats's Fame."

12. Autographic Mirror, Aug. 19, 1865, p. 60 (first section).

Alleged Keats autograph of sonnet "Pleasures lie thickest." P. 32 (second section). Note on Keats and this manuscript. Apparently this is one of the George Byron forgeries. The sonnet is by L. Blanchard. See *Notes and Queries*, June 3, 1933.

13. Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15, 1867, pp. 291-317.

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13a. Victoria Magazine, May 1870, pp. 55-67.

"The Daintiest of Poets.-Keats."

14. Quarterly Review, Jan. 1872, pp. 31-44.

A review of Swinburne's Songs before Sunrise, Rossetti's Poems, and Morris' The Earthly Paradise.

15. Athenaeum, Oct. 26, 1872, pp. 529-30.

By "An Admirer of Keats," "Unpublished Notes on Milton, by John Keats; and Original Version of the Sonnet 'To Sleep.'"

16. Ibid., June 7, 1873, p. 725.

"An Admirer of Keats' announces that he has in his possession Keats' copy of Leigh Hunt's *Literary Pocket-Book* and many letters, "of which I have lately become possessed." First publication of "Of late two dainties...."

17. World (New York), June 25, 1877, pp. 1-3. See V6.

18. Revue Politique et Littéraire, July 21, 1877, pp. 61-5.

Léo Quesnel, "Les Poètes Modernes en Angleterre. John Keats."

19. Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Aug. 1877, pp. 357-61.

"The Poet Keats." Account of conversation with a daughter of George Keats and description of some Keatsiana in her possession. Quotation of an unpublished sonnet by Keats (?) with facsimile of part of the autograph: "There was a season when the fabled name" (dated April 23, 1817). Also fragments from an unrecovered letter telling of the circumstances of composition of *Lines on the Mermaid Tavern*.

20. Scribner's Monthly, Dec. 1877, pp. 203-13.

R. H. Stoddard, "After Many Days. A Study of Keats." Completed Jan. 1878, pp. 402-17.

21. Argonaut, V (1877), pp. 335-43.

W. A. Steel, "The Poetry of Keats."

22. New Dominion Monthly, 1877, pp. 293-300.

R. S. Weir, "Thoughts on Keats."

23. Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly, April 1879, pp. 449-54.

Edgar Fawcett, "One More Word about Keats." The author admires Keats, but thinks him generally overpraised except as the model for a better poet, Tennyson.

- 24. Athenaeum, Aug. 23, 1879, pp. 238-9.
- H. B. Forman, "Severn and Keats." Publishing Severn's letters to Brown concerning Keats, written in 1821-2. Letters of 1823-41 were published the next week, pp. 271-2.
- 25. Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Jan. 1880, pp. 161-74. The Eve of St. Agnes with illustrations by E. A. Abbey.
- 26. Manchester Quarterly, Jan. 1883, pp. 1-10.

George Milner, "On Some Marginalia made by Dante G. Rossetti in a Copy of Keats' Poems."

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Edmund C. Stedman, "Keats" and "The Graves of Keats and Severn."

28. Edinburgh Review, July 1885, pp. 1-36.

"The Life and Works of John Keats." A review of Keats' three original volumes, the collected edition (1883), and the letters to Fanny Brawne (1878), and a general essay on the growth of Keats' reputation. The reviewer regrets the publication of the letters to Fanny Brawne.

29. Century Guild Hobby Horse, I (1886), pp. 83-6.

Oscar Wilde, "Keats' Sonnet on Blue." Reports possession of the holograph of "Blue 'tis the life of Heaven," given him by Mrs. George Speed, after hearing him mention the poem in a lecture at Louisville, Kentucky.

30. Book-Lore, 4 (1886), p. 116.

Keats' To a Cat. The contributor believed that this was its first publication; but see L28.

- 31. National Review, Sept. 1887, pp. 11-24.
- W. J. Courthope, "Keats' Place in English Poetry."

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Mrs. James T. Fields, "A Shelf of Old Books—Leigh Hunt." Reminiscences of Leigh Hunt, with occasional references to Keats and a few lines of the holograph of "I stood tip-toe."

33. Quarterly Review, April 1888, pp. 308-38.

Review of the biographies by Colvin and Rossetti, defence of Croker's opinions of *Endymion*, and a denial that Keats was so sensitive as to be injured by adverse criticism.

34. Macmillan's Magazine, Aug. 1888, pp. 311-20.

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Joseph Texte, "John Keats." A critique of Keats based on several volumes.

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William Watson, "The Punishment of Genius." A violent attack upon the thorough editor of complete works. "Such is the lot of the modern man of genius; living, he may escape the poisoned arrow; but dead, he is still a banquet for the ghoul."

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- 40. Fortnightly Review, Dec. 1893, pp. 728-40.
- A. F. Sieveking, "Some Unedited Letters of Keats." The letters to the Jeffreys.
- 41. Critic, Aug. 4, 1894, pp. 78-9.

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- 44. Forum, Nov. 1895, pp. 356-63.
 Montgomery Schuyler, "The Centenary of Keats."
- 45. Englische Studien, 21 (1895), pp. 209-310.
- J. Hoops, "Keats' Jugend und Jugendgedichte."
- 46. Illustrated London News, Feb. 15, 1896, p. 210.
- "A Friend of John Keats." By Mary (Novello) Cowden Clarke. Memories of Keats at the Novello music-parties and at Leigh Hunt's, and an account of her husband's relations with the poet.
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49. Bookman (New York), May 1897, pp. 217-19; July, pp. 377-80.

W. C. Wilkinson, "Two Odes of Keats's." General appreciation of Ode on a Grecian Urn and Ode to a Nightingale.

50. Literature, Dec. 25, 1897, pp. 305-6. William Watson, "Among My Books."

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56. Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, XXII (1901), pp. 239-63.

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58. Arena, Oct. 1902, pp. 354-69.

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- 60. Revista d'Italia, Sept. 1903, pp. 456-78.
- Z. Vitale, "Rileggendo le Lettere di Giovanni Keats."
- 61. Cosmopolitan, Oct. 1904, pp. 733-6.

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- H. B. Forman, "Keats" and "The Keats-Shelley Memorial at Rome."
- 67. Westminster Review, April 1907, pp. 406-16.
- C. L. Leipoldt, "John Keats, Medical Student."
- 68. Sewanee Review, July 1907, pp. 285-96.

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- 69. Modern Philology, Oct. 1907, pp. 1-8.
- H. N. MacCracken, "The Source of Keats's Eve of St. Agnes." Parallels in Boccaccio's Filocolo.
- 70. Century Magazine, Dec. 1908, pp. 308-12.
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- 71. Forum, Dec. 1908, pp. 584-90.

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- 231. TLS, Feb. 5, 1938, p. 92.
- G. St. Quintin, "The Grecian Urn." On the interpretation of the last lines.
- 232. Notes and Queries, Feb. 26, 1938, pp. 151-2.
- J. H. Birss, "Fragment of a New Keats Letter." Printed in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Aug. 1877, p. 361.

233. Aryan Path (Bombay), April 1938, pp. 169-73, 173-7.

Articles, both entitled "The Vision of John Keats," by Dorothy Hewlett and Ram Bilas Sharma.

- 234. Philological Quarterly, April 1938, pp. 223-4.
- C. B. Burke, "Keats and Spenser." Similar phrasing in "Bards of passion" and *The Ruines of Time*.
- 235. Notes and Queries, June 18, 1938, p. 441.
- H. W. F., "Keats and Horace." Similarity between opening lines of the Ode to a Nightingale and Epode XIV, 1-4. Already noted, e.g. London Mercury, July 1929, p. 290 (R156).
- 236. TLS, July 9, 1938, pp. 465-6.
- J. R. MacGillivray, "Ode on a Grecian Urn." Raphael's "Sacrifice at Lystra," B. R. Haydon, and the fourth stanza of the ode.
- 237. Ibid., p. 466.
- J. M. Murry, "A Keats Query." Meaning of "pip-civilian" in the letter of May 3, 1818. Reply by Roberta D. Cornelius, *ibid.*, Aug. 6, p. 520.
- 238. Ibid., Aug. 6, 1938, p. 519.
- C. D. Thorpe, "An Unknown Keats Manuscript." Early form of a few lines of "I stood tip-toe."
- 239. Ibid., Aug. 13, 1938, pp. 531; Aug. 27, pp. 555-6.
- M. B. Forman, "An Unknown Keats Manuscript." In reply to the previous item, pointing out that these variant readings had been noted already, and adding others.
- /240. Ibid., Aug. 20, 1938, p. 544.
 - W. Roberts, "Ode on a Grecian Urn." Comment on R236, with an account of Haydon's own set of the Annals of the Fine Arts.

241. Notes and Queries, Sept. 17, 1938, pp. 203-4.

K. Pfeiffer, "A Possible New Source of Keats's Sonnet on Chapman's 'Homer.'" Poem by Jasper Mayne in preface to works of William Cartwright, 1651.

242. Annals of Medical History, Sept. 1938, pp. 433-44.

Sir Robert Armstrong-Jones, "Some Remarks on Keats and His Friends."

243. TLS, Dec. 10, 1938, pp. 785-6.

C. D. Thorpe, "I stood tip-toe." More variant readings and a reply to R239.

244. Ibid., Dec. 24, 1938, pp. 815-16.

H. W. Garrod, "I stood tip-toe." Comment on the preceding.

245. Harvard Studies and Notes, 20 (1938), pp. 123-30.

J. H. Wagenblass, "Keats's Roaming Fancy." Herrick's To His Muse and Keats' Fancy.

246. TLS, Feb. 4, 1939, p. 73.

F. E. L. Priestley, "Unpoeted I Write." Phrase in Letters, p. 390, reminiscent of Lear in the storm.

On the same subject: R. Rogers, *ibid.*, Feb. 25, pp. 121-2; and M. B. Forman, *ibid.*, June 24, p. 373.

247. Notes and Queries, Feb. 25, 1939, pp. 129-31.

W. E. Peck, "'Love and Folly.' A Poem by Keats and Brown." From New Monthly Magazine, 1822 (L3).

248. TLS, July 1, 1939, p. 390.

G. G. Loane, "A Reading in Keats." Questioning "to steel a change," with suggested emendations. Reply by J. B. Baillie, ibid., July 8, pp. 405-6, defending Garrod's reading and citing Shakespeare's Sonnets, No. 112.

- 249. Ibid., July 8, 1939, p. 405.
- W. M. Parker, "Keats and John Scott."
- 250. Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta, 31 (1939), 127 pp. (each article paged separately).
- B. S. Chowdhuri, "Keats, the Development of His Mind."
- 251. Research Studies of the State College of Washington, Sept. 1940, pp. 113-20.
- W. F. Wright, "A Sudden Development in Keats's Poetic Method." A new sense of mystery and tragedy in love after his first meeting with Fanny Brawne.
- 252. English Journal, Dec. 1940, pp. 837-9.
- W. R. Wood, "An Interpretation of Keats's 'Ode on a Grecian Urn.'" "Ye know," in the last line, refers to the urn, not to the reader or mankind.
- 253. Philological Quarterly, 19 (1940), pp. 149-50.
- C. B. Burke, "Keats and Spenser Again."
- 254. PMLA, 55 (1940), pp. 802-14.
- J. H. Pershing, "John Keats: When was he born and when did he die?" Examination of conflicting evidence, with special deference to what would pass as evidence in a court of law.
- 255. TLS, March 8, 1941, p. 117.
- C. Archer, "A Line in Keats." In To Sleep: "Save me from curious conscience, that still lords [hoards?] / Its strength for darkness..."

On the same subject: *ibid.*, March 29, p. 151, Laurence Binyon notes that H. B. Forman pronounced in favour of *hoards* but left *lords* in his texts; R. W. King argues for *hoards*; E. H. W. Meyerstein cites analogous examples of *lords* in Spenser and Chatterton; *ibid.*, April 12, p. 179, H. W. Garrod defends *lords* by reference to the MSS. and to *Endymion*, II, 891; rejoinders by Meyerstein (April 19) and King (May 3); *ibid.*, May 3, p. 215, R. W. Critwell notes echoes of *Hamlet* in the sonnet.

256. Notes and Queries, May 10, 1941, pp. 328-9.

T. O. Mabbott, "Haydon's Letter arranging for Keats to meet Wordsworth."

257. *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, 1941, p. 174.

W. W. Beyer, "The Date of Keats's First Letter." Oct. 9, 1816, not 1815. M. B. Forman (*ibid.*, Nov. 8, p. 264) grants that his dating was probably in error, but points out that H. W. Garrod (preface to *Poems*, 1939) had made the same point. See also the discussion in 1936 (R214).

258. PMLA, 56 (1941), pp. 592-6.

H. E. Briggs, "The Birth and Death of John Keats: A Reply to Mr. Pershing." See R254. Re-examining the question and arguing the inadequacy and fallibility of Mr. Pershing's rules of evidence for literary and historical investigation.

259. TLS, June 27, 1942, p. 319.

M. B. Forman, "Keats's 'Isabella.'" Describing two more stanzas (29 and 32) of the holograph which Severn cut up to give away as souvenirs of the poet.

260. Modern Language Notes, 57 (1942), pp. 463-5.

Minnie E. Wells, "'The Eve of St. Agnes' and 'The Legend of Britomartis.'"

261. University of Toronto Quarterly, Jan. 1943, pp. 167-79.

.H. M. McLuhan, "Aesthetic Pattern in Keats's Odes."

262. TLS, April 17, 1943, p. 192.

H. G. Wright, "Keats's 'Isabella.'" Possible sources in a seven-teenth-century translation of Boccaccio.

263. Accent, 4 (Autumn, 1943), pp. 30-42.

Kenneth Burke, "Symbolic Action in a Poem by Keats." Ode on a Grecian Urn.

264. Modern Language Notes, 58 (1943), pp. 125-8.

H. E. Briggs, "Keats's 'Golden-tongued romance.'" Arguing that the reference is not to *The Faerie Queene* but to *Endymion*.

265. Ibid., pp. 620-2.

H. E. Briggs, "Keats's 'Gather the Rose.'" Phrase in Letters, p. 217 from The Faerie Queene, rather than from Tasso or Herrick.

266. Modern Language Quarterly, 4 (1943), pp. 309-13.

H. E. Briggs, "Keats's 'Sickly imagination and sick pride.'" Phrase in Sonnet on Visiting the Tomb of Burns must refer to the Scottish people.

267. Studies in Philology, 40 (1943), pp. 560-7.

Henry Pettit, "Scientific Correlatives of Keats' Ode to Psyche." Medical imagery in the last stanza.

268. TLS, Sept. 23, 1944, p. 463.

O. H. T. Dudley, "Pure Serene." Noting the phrase in Coleridge as well as in Carey's Dante.

On the same subject: *ibid.*, Sept. 30, p. 475, Dorothy Hewlett cites Finney's reference to Thomson, *ibid.*, Nov. 18, p. 559, Douglas Bush adds that he had made this point in 1929, and J. L. Lowes somewhat later, See R159 and TLS, Oct. 12, 1933, p. 691.

269. Ibid., Sept. 30, 1944, p. 480.

S. J. Webb, "Keats Memorial House." Account of how the house in Rome came through the war, and the secret travels of some of the treasures which for a time were stored at Monte Cassino.

270. Notes and Queries, Oct. 7, 1944, pp. 159-62.

R. D. Altick, "When did Keats meet Leigh Hunt?" Between Oct. 9 and Dec. 1, 1816.

271. Explicator, III, Oct. 1944, No. 1.

R. P. Basler, "Keats' 'The Eve of St. Agnes,' ll. 170-1." Merlin and "the monstrous debt."

272. Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 43 (1944), pp. 333-6.

C. D. Thorpe, "An Early Review of Keats." In Time's Telescope for 1822 (L5).

273. Modern Language Notes, 59 (1944), pp. 331-2.

D. W. Thompson, "Keats's 'To the Nile.'" Must refer to old caravan route from the upper Nile to the Red Sea, followed in journey "'twixt Cairo and Decan."

274. Ibid., p. 572.

H. E. Briggs, "A Note on Keats and Addison." Quotation from The Drummer in Keats' letters.

275. Modern Language Quarterly, 5 (1944), pp. 439-77.

F. E. L. Priestley, "Keats and Chaucer."

276. PMLA, 59 (1944), pp. 184-99.

H. E. Briggs, "Keats, Robertson, and 'that most Hateful Land.'" To prove that the *Lines to Fanny* must have been written in April (not October) 1819, and that the "Hateful Land" of the second stanza is the American frontier (as described by Robertson) to which Keats' brother and sister-in-law had emigrated. Also noting similar imagery in *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, written in the same month.

277. Ibid., pp. 513-23.

.Clarice Short, "William Morris and Keats."

278. Ibid., pp. 596-8.

H. E. Briggs, "Two Notes on Hazlitt and Keats." Ideas expressed in letters to be found in two passages in *The Round Table* (1817).

279. Sewanee Review, 52 (1944), pp. 89-101.

Cleanth Brooks, "History without Footnotes: An Account of Keats' Urn."

280. Ibid., pp. 226-46.

Dorothy Van Ghent, "The Passion of the Groves." Green coverts in Keats' poetry and his favourite reading.

281. Modern Language Review, Jan. 1945, pp. 1-7.

E. E. Stoll, "The Validity of Poetic Vision: Keats and Spenser."

282. *Ibid.*, April 1945, pp. 90-4.

H. G. Wright, "Has Keats's Eve of St. Agnes a Tragic Ending?" Suggestions of menace and off-stage tragedy in the poem.

283. TLS, Nov. 10, 1945, p. 535.

"Keats and Ourselves" (editorial). Reference to 150th anniversary of the poet's birth, the re-opening of the Keats House, Hampstead, and the permanent value of the poetry.

On the same subject: Norman Hampson, ibid., Dec. 22, p. 607; Katherine M. R. Kenyon, ibid., Jan. 26, 1946, p. 43.

284. College English, 6 (1945), pp. 325-8.

R. H. Fogle, "A Reading of Keats's 'Eve of St. Agnes."

285. Contemporary Review, .167 (1945), pp. 173-9.

R. C. Churchill, "Keats and Marlowe."

286. Modern Language Notes, 60 (1945), pp. 270-2.

Mary R. Thayer, "Keats and Coleridge: 'La Belle Dame sans Merci.'" General similarities in Coleridge's Love.

/287. *PMLA*, 60 (1945), pp. 811-27.

Stephen De Ullmann, "Romanticism and Synaesthesia: A Comparative Study of Sense Transfer in Keats and Byron."

/288. *Ibid.*, pp. 1106-29.

H. E. Briggs, "Keats's Conscious and Unconscious Reactions to Criticism of *Endymion*."

289. American Scholar, 15 (1945-6), pp. 55-68, 189-97.

Allen Tate, "A Reading of Keats." Re-assessment for the 150th anniversary of Keats' birth.

290. TLS, Feb. 9, 1946, p. 67.

Louis Bonnerot, "Keats and Wordsworth." Similarities in *The Human Seasons* and *Excursion*, V, 394-410.

291. Notes and Queries, Feb. 9, 1946, pp. 49-51.

R. R. Hubach, "Was Keats 'The Sensitive Plant'?"

292. New English Review, Feb. 1946, pp. 154-65.

Allen Tate, "A Reading of Keats." About the same as R289, with some change in arrangement and phrasing.

/293. ELH, March 1946, pp. 64-78.

W. E. Houghton, "The Meaning of Keats's 'Eve of St. Mark.'" Arguing against preoccupation with the superstitions of St. Mark's eve as not relevant to either fragment of the poem and pointing out the romantic use of contrast.

294. TLS, April 6, 1946, p. 163.

C. B. Young, "St. Agnes Eve and Cymbeline." Noting verbal similarities. O. H. T. Dudley (ibid., May 4, p. 211) and Margaret E. O'Brien (ibid., June 1, p. 259) observe that this point has been made before, e.g. by Swinburne.

295. Notes and Queries, April 20, 1946, pp. 160-1.

A. G. B., "Keats's 'Hyperion.'" To show that the last sentence of the poem was never completed to Keats' satisfaction. The ending in the Woodhouse Transcript, "he was a god!" was rejected as repetitious and anticlimactic because already at lines 113-20 it had been indicated four times that Apollo had become a god.

296. University of Toronto Quarterly, July 1946, pp. 356-72.

Archibald Lampman, "The Character and Poetry of Keats." An appreciative essay, written in 1893, and here first published with a prefatory note by E. K. Brown.

297. Modern Language Review, Oct. 1946, pp. 413-19.

R. K. Gordon, "Notes on Keats' Eve of St. Agnes." Citing parallel passages in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Scott.

298. PMLA, 61 (1946), pp. 163-91.

R. H. Fogle, "Empathic Imagery in Keats and Shelley." Empathy: "the involuntary projection of ourselves into an object."

299. Ibid., pp. 1101-8.

H. E. Briggs, "Swift and Keats." Influence of Gulliver's Travels on five of Keats' poems.

S. Translations

- 1. Revue des Deux Mondes, 1848 (4). See R4.
- 2. Keatsii Hyperionis / Libri I. II. / Latine Reddidit / Carolus Merivale. / Macmillan et Soc. / Cantabrigiae et Londini / MDCCCLXII.
- 61: 5×7.4 . English and Latin on opposite pages.
- 3. Keatsii Hyperionis / Libri Tres. / Latine Reddidit / Carolus Merivale. / Macmillan et Soc. / Cantabrigiae et Londini / MDCCCLXIII.
- 87; 4.5×6.6 . Text and translation of Book III added.
- 4. Dichterlijke Verhalen. / Navolgingen van / François Coppée, Louis de Ronchaud, George Eliot, John Keats. / Door / C. Van Kempe Valk. / Amsterdam, A. ·Rössing. / 1888. 136 pp.
- Pp. 85-136. Introductory essay on Keats, followed by a translation of *Hyperion* into Dutch.
- 5. Poètes Anglais / Contemporains / ... / Par / A. Buisson du Berger / ... / Paris /
- [1890]; 32; Nouvelle Bibliothèque Populaire.
- Pp. 19-23. A passage from Endymion in French.
- 6. DE / Joh. Keatsii / Vita et Carminibus / . . . / Proponebat / Augustus Angellier, / . . . / MDCCCXCII
- See O8. Includes a Latin translation of the Ode on a Grecian Urn (pp. 93-4) and of extensive passages from Endymion, Hyperion, and Lamia.

7. John Keats / Leben und Werke / von / Marie Gothein/ ... / 1897

See O10.

Vol. II (iv, 293) contains the poems translated into German.

8. Englische Dichter. / Übersetzungen / nach / Percy B. Shelley, Thomas Moore, / John Keats, / Algernon Charles Swinburne / und Anderen / von / Gisherte Freiligrath. / Halle a.d.S. / Verlag von Otto Hendel.

[1898]; xvi, 145.

Pp. 79-89. Translation of six poems into German.

9. Grand Review, III (1899), p. 458.

On First Looking into Chapman's Homer in French.

- 10. Englische Studien, 28 (1900), pp. 456-66.
- R. Ackermann, "Keats' Hymne an Pan in drei deutschen Übertragungen."
- 11. *Poemetti e odi di John Keats. Versione di Ettore Santelice. 'Messina; Vincenzo Muglia, 1901.

xiv, 97; front. (port.) [Rome I]

12. Ettore Allodoli / Sonetti di John Keats, / Scelti e trapotti / Firenze, 1904 / . . .

8 pp. Translations into Italian prose.

13. Versioni / da Thomas Gray / John Keats, Lord Byron / Percy Bysshe Shelley, Robert Browning / di Taddeo Wiel / Venezia / Instituto Veneto di Arti Grafiche / MCMVI

117 pp.

Pp. 54-5. Ode to a Nightingale in English and Italian.

- 14. Poésies / de / John Keats / Traduites / par / La M[arqu]ise de Clermont-Tonnerre / . . . / Paris / . . . / 1907
- xii, 127; front. (life-mask). French and English on opposite pages.
- 15, *IPERIONE, ISABELLA, ODI E SONETTI DI JOHN KÉATS. TRA-DUZIONE ITALIANA CON INTRODUZIONE E NOTE DI E. ALLODOLI. MILANO, SOC. Ed. SONZOGNO, 1910. [Nuova Antologia, 235 (1924), p. 144.]
- 16. John Keats / Poèmes et Poésies / Traduction précédée d'une étude / par / Paul Gallimard / ... / Paris / Mercure de France / ... / MCMX 378 pp.

Pp. 49-368. Translations.

- 17. JOHN KEATS / GEDICHTE / ÜBERTRAGEN VON GISELA ETZEL / IM INSEL-VERLAG ZU LEIPZIG .
 1910: 154.
- 18. Canti Perfetti / Antologia / Di Poeti Inglesi Moderni / (1908-1910) / Traduzioni Metriche / e notizie di / Luigi Siciliani / 1911 / Milano—Dr. Riccardo Quintieri—Editore /

240 pp.

- Pp. 17-22. Ode on a Grecian Urn, To Autumn, On First Looking into Chapman's Homer.
- 19. Poemi / di / John Keats / Tradotti in prosa ritmica da Fulvia Faruffini / Napoli / Riccardo Ricciardi Editore / 1911

159 pp.

20. *John Keats. Lettres à Fanny Brawne, traduites par M. L. Des Garet.—Paris, éditions de la "Nouvelle revue française," 1912

86 pp. [BN]

21. La Veille de la / Sainte-Agnès / Par John Keats / Traduction / de la Duchesse de Clermont-Tonnerre / Les Amis d'Édouard / No 17

1913; 32.

- 22. Biblioteca Clásica / Tomo CCL / Antología / DE / Líricos Ingleses / y / Angloamericanos / Colección y Colaboración / DE / Miguel Sánchez Pesquera / Tomo III / Madrid / . . . / 1917
- Pp. 10-19. Translation of To My Brothers and Ode on a Grecian Urn and part of "I stood tip-toe."
- 23. Las cien mejores poesías / (líricas) / de la lengua inglesa / Traducidas directamente en verso / por / Fernando Maristany / Prólogo de / Enrique Díez-Canedo / . . . / 1918

xvi, 176.

Pp. 97-105. Translation of five poems of Keats into Spanish.

24. The John Keats / Memorial Volume / ... / February 23, 1921

See P14.

- Pp. 244-5. Ode on a Grecian Urn in Swedish by Andero Osterling. P. 268. Opening lines of Endymion in Arabic by Sayyid Muhammad Ali Nami. P. 273. The sonnet "Glory and loveliness" in Sanskrit by Shivadhar Pande.
- 25. RAFAEL ALBERTO ARRIETA / FUGACIDAD / NUEVOS POEMAS / [Device] / BUENOS AIRES MCMXXII
 106 pp.
- Pp. 32-40. Translation into Spanish of three of Keats' sonnets: "O Solitude," To Sleep, and "When I have fears."
- 26. Poésies / de / John Keats / Traduites / Par / E. de Clermont-Tonnerre / Précédées d'une Préface de E.

Hovelaque, / d'une Biographie / et de Documents Inédits / Nouvelle Édition / Paris / Émile-Paul Frères, Éditeurs / . . . / 1922

Ixxxiii, 187; front. (port.) after Severn; facsimile. French and English on opposite pages.

27. The same as S22, but: Tomo VII / . . . / 1924.

Pp. 112-18. Translations of five poems into Spanish.

28. John Keats / Lettere / a Fanny Brawne / Traduzione di / Giacomo Prampolini / A. F. Formiggini / Editore in Roma / 1925

106 pp.

29. John Keats / Iperione, Odi / e Sonetti versione / col testo a fronte, introduzione / e note a cura de Raffaello / Piccoli. / [Device] / G. C. Sansoni—Editore—Firenze

[1925]; xxxvi, 208. English and Italian on opposite pages.

30. La / Corres- / pondance / inédite de John Keats, / présentée et traduite par / Lucien Wolff, est éditée par / les Cahiers Libres, au 57 de / l'Avenué Malakoff, à Paris / en 1928.

158 pp.

31. .../Lucien Wolff/.../Keats/Paris/.../1922/....

See O29. This book includes translations into French of many of the poems.

32. [No title-page]

[Fly-title]: Perlen / Englischer Dichtung / in / Deutscher Fassung / Eigenes / von / Herman Behr

[1929?]; 223; the De Vinne Press, New York City.

Pp. 1-21. German translations of six poems.

33. Nuova Antologia, 275 (1931), pp. 315-19.

Translations into Italian of To Autumn, Ode on Melancholy, Ode on Indolence.

- 34. NORDAHL GRIEG / DE UNGE DΦDE / . . . / OSLO MCMXXXII See Q72. This book includes translations into Norwegian of three sonnets, La Belle Dame sans Merci, and the Ode on a Grecian Urn.
- 35. .../JEAN CATEL/∳OHN KEATS/ET LES/ODES/....
 See P27.

Pp. 91-110. Translation of the odes into French.

36. Francesco Gargaro / Keats e Browning / Poesie dall'inglese / con Prefazione di / Alfredo Galletti / "La Prora" — Milano

1937; 214.

Pp. 15-103. Translations of Keats.

37. Rafael Alberto Arrieta / . . . / Antología / Espasa-Calpe Argentina, S.A. / Buenos Aires—México

1942; 154:

Pp. 125-6. Translation of To Sleep and "Bright star " Cf. S25.

231 pp.

Pp. 213-16. "Nattgalaóður." Ode to a Nightingale in Icelandic. [Noted by Watson Kirkconnell]

- 39. John Keats / Sonette und Oden / Übertragung von / Edward Jaime / 1946 / Balduin Pick Verlag Köln
- 63 pp. English and German on opposite pages.

T. Finales: Conclusions for Unfinished Poems of Keats

1. King Stephen / An Historical Drama in Seven Tableaux / Completed from John Keats' / Fragment / By / Edward Fales Coward / Wilson A. Burrows / 80 Broadway New York City / MCMXII

44 pp.

2. KEATS' FINALES: / HYPERION AND / THE EVE OF SAINT MARK / BY / CANDELENT PRICE / ... / LONDON: C. W. DANIEL, LTD. / ... / 1922

158 pp. Hyperion and The Eve of Saint Mark "completed."

- 3. KEATS' FRAGMENTS / AND FINALES. / ... '/ By / F. A. MEDES REGESTER. / DUCKWORTH, / 3, HENRIETTA STREET, LONDON, W. C. / 1936.
- 57 pp. Hyperion "brought to a fit conclusion."

U. Fiction and Drama about Keats

1. A DAY / WITH THE / POET / KEATS / LONDON / HODDER & STOUGHTON

[1909]; 48; illustrated. An imaginary day during which Keats keeps reciting his own verse.

2. Cornered Poets / A Book of Dramatic Dialogues / by Laurence Housman / New York / Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith

1929; 256.

Pp. 87-123. "Charles! Charles!" On Haydon's "immortal dinner."

3. Special / Hunger / By George O'Neil / Horace Liveright Inc. New York

1931; 329. A novel on the life of Keats.

4. THE BEST / ONE-ACT PLAYS / OF / 1931 / SELECTED BY / J. W. MARRIOTT / ... / LONDON / GEORGE G. HARRAP & CO. LTD. / ...

285 pp.

Pp. 75-103. Mary Pakinton, *Poet's Corner*. A play about Keats and his friends.

5. THE BRIDE OF / QUIETNESS / AND OTHER PLAYS / OSCAR W. FIRKINS / THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA PRESS / MINNEAPOLIS 1932; vii, 242.

Pp. 1-60. The Bride of Quietness. A "Greek" play using themes from the Ode on a Grecian Urn.

6. My Star Predominant / By / Raymond Knister / London: / Andrew Melrose Ltd. / . . .

[1934?]; 319. A novel based on Keats' life.

7. TEN NEW ONE-ACTERS / . . . / COLLECTED BY HERMON OULD / LONGMANS, GREEN AND Co. / LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO 1936; vi, 243.

Pp. 211-43. Joan Temple, Yet I Ride the Little Horse. A play about some of the Keats circle.

- 8. Aged 26 / A Play about John Keats / By / Anne Crawford Flexner / Oxford University Press / . . . / 1937 116 pp.
- 9. Forever Young / A Life of John Keats by / Blanche Colton Williams /
 See O42.

V. The Keats Circle

This list is, of necessity, carefully limited. For a guide to the biography and criticism of Shelley, Hazlitt, and Leigh Hunt, the reader will look elsewhere. This section is given over, primarily, to the minor worthies, Fanny Brawne, Dilke, Reynolds, Brown, Taylor, Severn, Haydon, and others who are now remembered only because they were for a few months the friends of John Keats. Information about the Keats circle may also be found in the more extensive biographies (e.g. by Sir Sidney Colvin and Amy Lowell) and in the preface to *Letters*, 1935, pp. xxxiii-lxiv. Consult also N: Keats as Seen by His Contemporaries.

1. Ladies' Companion, Aug. 1837, pp. 186-7.

Reminiscence of George Keats in Louisville, Ky., by "H. P." (John Howard Payne).

- 2. Dial, April 1843, pp. 495-500. James Freeman Clark, "George Keats."
- 3. Life / of / Benjamin Robert Haydon, / ... / By Tom Taylor, / ... / 1853.

 See N28.
- 4. Life and Letters / of / William Bewick / . . . / 1871. See N34.
- 5. The / Papers of a Critic. / Selected from the Writings of the late / Charles Wentworth Dilke. / With a Biographical Sketch by his Grandson, / Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Bart., M.P., / . . . / In Two Volumes. / Vol. I. [II.] / London: / John Murray, Albemarle Street. / 1875. 382, 388.
- I, pp. 1-91. Memoir of Charles Wentworth Dilke.

- 6. World (New York), June 25, 1877, pp. 1-3.
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